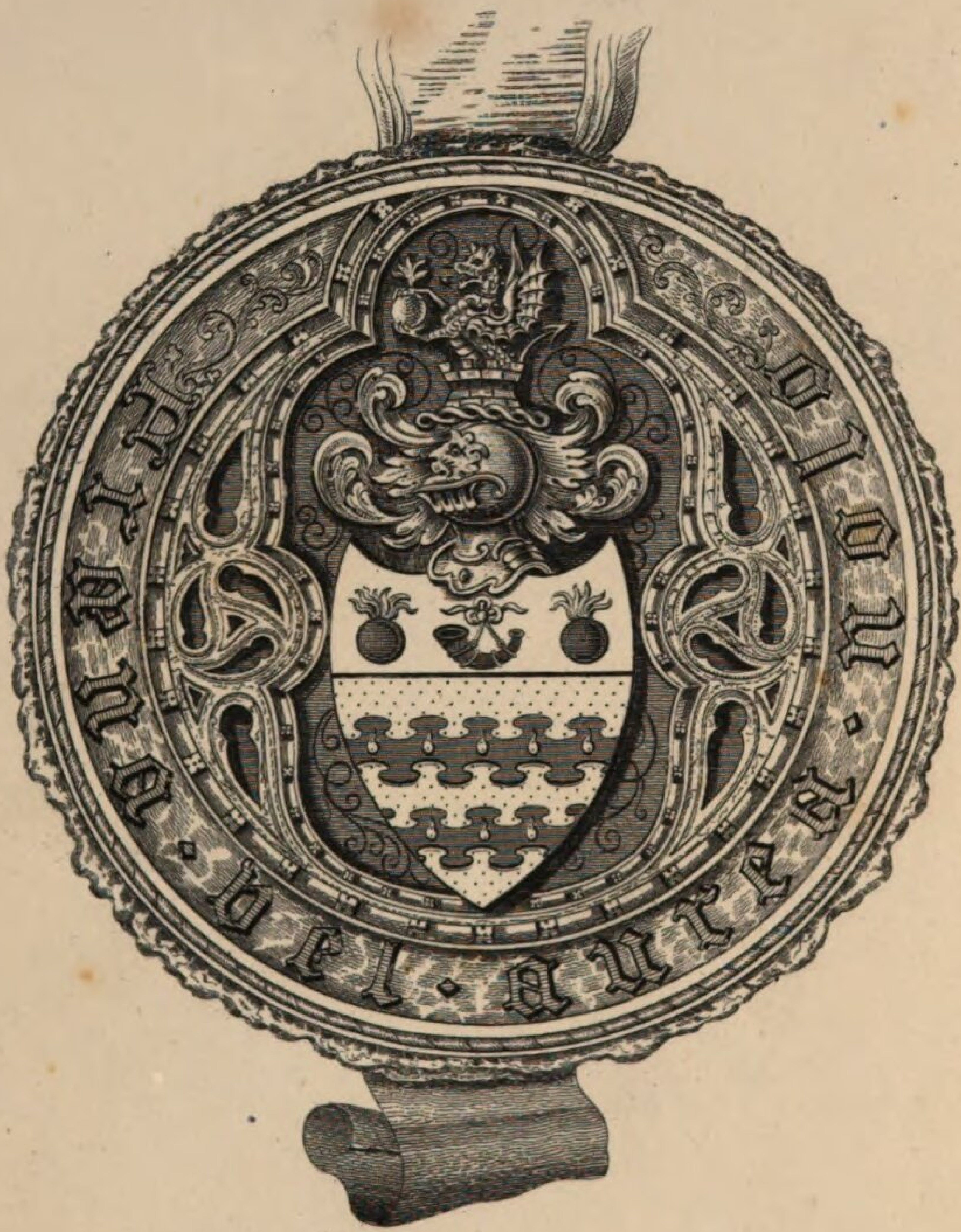
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CHART
of the
SANDWICH ISLANDS
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Oreehoua
ONEEHOW
ATOOI
Taboora
WOAHOO
MOROTOI
RANAI
Morokinne
TAHOOROWA
OWHYHEE
Mowna Kaah
Mowna Worroray
Karakakooa
Mowna Roa
KAOO
200°
201°
202°
203°
204°
205°
22°
21°
20°
19°

A

# GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

# VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

## ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE, BY SEA AND LAND, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

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ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

VOL. XVII.

EDINBURGH:

*Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.*

FOR WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH;

J. MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET; BALDWIN, CRADOCK AND JOY, AND GALE AND FENNER, PATERNOSTER-ROW, LONDON; AND J. CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1816.

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A

# GENERAL HISTORY

AND

# COLLECTION

OF

# VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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## PART III. BOOK III.

(CONTINUED.)

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## CHAPTER V. CONTINUED.

### CAPTAIN KING'S JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS ON RETURNING TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

### SECTION VI.

*General Account of the Sandwich Islands.—Their Number, Names, and Situation.*—OWHYHEE.—*Its Extent, and Division into Districts.—Account of its Coasts, and the adjacent Country.—Volcanic Appearances.—Snowy Mountains.—Their Height determined.—Account of a Journey into the Interior Parts of the Country.*—MOWEE.—TAHOOROWA.—MOROTOI.—RANAI.—WOAHOO.—ATOOI.—ONEEHEOW.—OREEHOUA.—TAHOORA.—*Climate.—Winds.—Currents.—Tides.—Animals and Vegetables.—Astronomical Observations.*[1]

AS we are now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, it will not be improper to introduce



[1] The general account of the Sandwich Islands given by Captain King, has been substantially confirmed by subsequent voyagers. Some additional particulars,

duce here some general account of their situation and natural history, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

This subject has indeed been, in some measure, preoccupied by persons far more capable of doing it justice than I can pretend to be. Had Captain Cook and Mr Anderson lived to avail themselves of the advantages which we enjoyed by a return to these islands, it cannot be questioned, that the public would have derived much additional information from the skill and diligence of two such accurate observers. The reader will therefore lament with me our common misfortune, which hath deprived him of the labours of such superior abilities, and imposed on me the task of presenting him with the best supplementary account the various duties of my station permitted me to furnish.

This group consists of eleven islands, extending in latitude from 18° 54′ to 22° 15′ N., and in longitude from 199° 36′ to 205° 06′ E. They are called by the natives, 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Oranai. 4. Morotinnee, or Morokinnee. 5. Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and sometimes Kowi.[2] 9. Neeheehow, or Oneeheow. 10. Oreehoua, or Reehoua; and, 11. Tahoora; and are all inhabited, excepting Morotinnee and Tahoora. Besides the islands above enumerated, we were told by the Indians, that there is another called Modoopapapa,[3] or Komodoopapapa, lying to the W.S.W. of Tahoora, which is low and sandy, and visited only for the purpose of catching turtle and sea-fowl; and, as I could never learn that they knew of any others, it is probable that none exist in their neighbourhood.

They

particulars, not by any means very important, have resulted from their enquiries, from which, of course, it had been easy to have enlarged the present and two following sections, by supplementary notes. But no good end would be answered by such a practice in the present case, as the description in the text is abundantly complete for every important purpose, and as it is probable, that, in the course of this work, there will occur opportunities of communicating whatever is valuable in the narratives of more recent voyagers.—E.

[2] It is to be observed, that, among the windward islands, the *k* is used instead of the *t*, as *Morokoi* instead of *Morotoi*, &c.

[3] *Modoo* signifies island; *papapa*, flat. This island is called *Tammatapappa* by Captain Cook.

They were named by Captain Cook the *Sandwich Islands,* in honour of the EARL OF SANDWICH, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many splendid and important discoveries; a tribute justly due to that noble person for the liberal support these voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their success; for the zeal with which he seconded the views of that great navigator; and, if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, since the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that served under him.

Owhyhee, the easternmost, and by much the largest of these islands, is of a triangular shape, and nearly equilateral. The angular points make the north, east, and south extremities, of which the northern is in latitude 20° 17′ N., longitude 204° 02′ E.; the eastern in latitude 19° 34′ N., longitude 205° 06′ E.; and the southern extremity in latitude 18° 54′ N., longitude 204° 15′ E. Its greatest length, which lies in a direction nearly north and south, is 28½ leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles in circumference. The whole island is divided into six large districts; Amakooa and Aheedoo, which lie on the north-east side; Apoona and Kaoo on the south-east; Akona and Koaarra on the west.

The districts of Amakooa and Aheedoo are separated by a mountain called Mounah Kaah (or the mountain Kaah), which rises in three peaks, perpetually covered with snow, and may be clearly seen at 40 leagues distance.

To the north of this mountain the coast consists of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We were once flattered with the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, in latitude 20° 10′ N., and longitude 204° 26′ E.; but, on doubling the point, and standing close in, we found it connected by a low valley, with another high head to the north-west. The country rises inland with a gentle ascent, is intersected by deep narrow glens, or rather chasms, and appeared to be well cultivated and sprinkled over with a number of villages. The snowy mountain is very steep, and the lower part of it covered with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo, which lies to the south of Mouna Kaah,

Kaah, is of a moderate height, and the interior parts appear more even than the country to the north-west, and less broken by ravines. Off these two districts we cruised for almost a month; and, whenever our distance from shore would permit it, were sure of being surrounded by canoes laden with all kinds of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy sea, and great swell on this side of the island; and as we had no soundings, and could observe much foul ground off the shore, we never approached nearer the land than two or three leagues, excepting on the occasion already mentioned.

The coast to the north-east of Apoona, which forms the eastern extremity of the island, is low and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the finest part of the island, and we were afterward told that the king had a place of residence here. At the south-west extremity the hills rise abruptly from the sea side, leaving but a narrow border of low ground toward the beach. We were pretty near the shore at this part of the island, and found the sides of the hills covered with a fine verdure; but the country seemed to be very thinly inhabited. On doubling the east point of the island, we came in sight of another snowy mountain, called Mouna Roa (or the extensive mountain), which continued to be a very conspicuous object all the while we were sailing along the south-east side. It is flat at the top, making what is called by mariners table-land; the summit was constantly buried in snow, and we once saw its sides also slightly covered for a considerable way down; but the greatest part of this disappeared again in a few days.

According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Mr Condamine, from observations taken on the Cordilleras, this mountain must be at least 16,020 feet high, which exceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr Heberden's computation, or 3,680, according to that of the Chevalier de Borda. The peaks of Mouna Kaah appeared to be about half a mile high; and as they are entirely covered with snow, the altitude of their summits cannot be less than 18,400 feet. But it is probable that both these mountains may be considerably higher. For in insular situations, the effects of the warm sea air must necessarily remove the line of snow

in

in equal latitudes, to a greater height than where the atmosphere is chilled on all sides by an immense tract of perpetual snow.

The coast of Kaoo presents a prospect of the most horrid and dreary kind; the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change from the effects of some dreadful convulsion. The ground is every where covered with cinders, and intersected in many places with black streaks, which seem to mark the course of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the shore. The southern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting head-land is composed of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another, and terminating in sharp points.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect of this part of the island, there are many villages scattered over it, and it certainly is much more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is this circumstance hard to be accounted for. As these islanders have no cattle, they have consequently no use for pasturage, and therefore naturally prefer such ground as either lies more convenient for fishing, or is best suited to the cultivation of yams and plantains. Now amidst these ruins, there are many patches of rich soil, which are carefully laid out in plantations, and the neighbouring sea abounds with a variety of most excellent fish, with which, as well as with other provisions, we were always plentifully supplied. Off this part of the coast we could find no ground, at less than a cable's length from the shore, with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line, excepting in a small bight to the eastward of the south point, where we had regular soundings of fifty and fifty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand. Before we proceed to the western districts, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole east side of the island, from the northern to the southern extremity, does not afford the smallest harbour or shelter for shipping.

The south-west parts of Akona are in the same state with the adjoining district of Kaoo; but farther to the north, the country has been cultivated with great pains, and is extremely populous.

In this part of the island is situated Karakakooa Bay, which has been already described. Along the coast nothing is seen but large masses of slag, and the fragments of black

black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground rises gradually for about two miles and a half, and appears to have been formerly covered with loose burnt stones. These the natives have taken the pains of clearing away, frequently to the depth of three feet and upward; which labour, great as it is, the fertility of the soil amply repays. Here in a rich ashy mould, they cultivate sweet potatoes and the cloth-plant. The fields are enclosed with stone-fences, and are interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees. On the rising ground beyond these, the bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with the greatest luxuriance.

Koaara extends from the westernmost point to the northern extremity of the island; the whole coast between them forming an extensive bay, called Toe-yah-yah, which is bounded to the north by two very conspicuous hills. Toward the bottom of this bay there is foul corally ground, extending upward of a mile from the shore, without which the soundings are regular, with good anchorage, in twenty fathoms. The country, as far as the eye could reach, seemed fruitful and well inhabited, the soil being in appearance of the same kind with the district of Kaoo; but no fresh water is to be got here.

I have hitherto confined myself to the coasts of this island, and the adjacent country, which is all that I had an opportunity of being acquainted with from my own observation. The only account I can give of the interior parts, is from the information I obtained from a party, who set out on the afternoon of the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, with an intention of penetrating as far as they could; and principally of reaching, if possible, the snowy mountains.

Having procured two natives to serve them as guides, they left the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, directing their course a little to the southward of the east. To the distance of three or four miles from the bay, they found the country as before described; the hills afterward rose with a more sudden ascent, which brought them to the extensive plantations that terminate the view of the country, as seen from the ships.

These plantations consist of the tarrow,[4] or eddy root, and

[4] Both the sweet potatoes, and the tarrow, are here planted four feet from each other; the former was earthed up almost to the top of the stalk,

and the sweet potatoe, with plants of the cloth tree, neatly set out in rows. The walls that separate them are made of the loose burnt stones, which are got in clearing the ground; and being entirely concealed by sugar-canes, planted close on each side, make the most beautiful fences that can be conceived. The party stopped for the night at the second hut they found amongst the plantations, where they judged themselves to be about six or seven miles from the ships. They described the prospect from this spot as very delightful; they saw the ships in the bay before them; to the left a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, spreading along the sea-shore; a thick wood stretching out of sight behind them; and to the right an extent of ground, laid out in regular and well-cultivated plantations, as far as the eye could reach.

Near this spot, at a distance from any other dwelling, the natives pointed out to them the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had formerly been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago quitted the shores of the island, and now never stirred from his cottage. They prostrated themselves as they approached him, and afterward presented to him a part of such provisions as they had brought with them. His behaviour was easy and cheerful; he scarce shewed any marks of astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept some of our curiosities, he declined the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. He was described as by far the oldest person any of the party had ever seen, and judged to be, by those who computed his age at the lowest, upward of 100 years old.

As our people had imagined the mountain not to be more than ten or twelve miles from the bay, and consequently that they should reach it with ease early the next morning, an error into which its great height had probably led

stalk, with about half a bushel of light mould; the latter is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is made in the form of a basin, in order to hold the rain-water, as this root requires a certain degree of moisture. It has been before observed, that the tarrow, at the Friendly and Society Islands, was always planted in low and moist situations, and generally where there was the convenience of a rivulet to flood it. It was imagined that this mode of culture was absolutely necessary; but we now found, that, with the precaution above-mentioned, it succeeds equally well in a drier situation; indeed, we all remarked, that the tarrow of the Sandwich Islands is the best we had ever tasted. The plantains are not admitted in these plantations, but grow amongst the bread-fruit trees.

led them, they were now much surprised to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, together with the uninhabited state of the country they were going to enter, made it necessary to procure a supply of provisions; and for that purpose they dispatched one of their guides back to the village. Whilst they were waiting his return, they were joined by some of Kaoo's servants, whom that benevolent old man had sent after them, as soon as he heard of their journey, laden with refreshments, and authorised, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand and take away whatever they might have occasion for.

Our travellers were much astonished to find the cold here so intense; but having no thermometer with them, could judge of it only by their feelings, which, from the warm atmosphere they had left, must have been a very fallacious measure. They found it, however, so cold, that they could get but little sleep, and the natives none at all; both parties being disturbed, the whole night, by continued coughing. As they could not, at this time, be at any very considerable height, the distance from the sea being only six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this extraordinary degree of cold must be ascribed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains.

Early on the 27th they set out again, and filled their calibashes at an excellent well about half a mile from their hut. Having passed the plantations, they came to a thick wood, which they entered by a path made for the convenience of the natives, who go thither to fetch the wild or horse-plantain, and to catch birds. Their progress now became very slow, and attended with much labour; the ground being either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and frequently interrupted by trees lying across it, which it was necessary to climb over, the thickness of the underwood on both sides making it impossible to pass round them. In these woods they observed, at small distances, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, which they supposed to be land-marks for the division of property, as they only met with them where the wild plantains grew. The trees, which are of the same kind with those we called the spice-tree at New Holland, were lofty and straight, and from two to four feet in circumference.

After

After they had advanced about ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification to find themselves, on a sudden, within sight of the sea, and at no great distance from it; the path having turned imperceptibly to the southward, and carried them to the right of the mountain, which it was their object to reach. Their disappointment was greatly increased by the uncertainty they were now under of its true bearings, since they could not, at this time, get a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They, therefore, found themselves obliged to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left three of the natives and two of their own people, with the small stock that remained of their provisions. Here they spent the second night; and the air was so very sharp, and so little to the liking of their guides, that, by the morning, they had all departed, except one.

The want of provisions now making it necessary to return to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they quitted the wood by the same path they had entered it; and, on their arrival at the plantations, were surrounded by the natives, of whom they purchased a fresh stock of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to supply the place of the guides that were gone away. Having obtained the best information in their power, with regard to the direction of their road, the party, being now nine in number, marched along the skirts of the wood for six or seven miles, and then entered it again by a path that bore to the eastward. For the first three miles they passed through a forest of lofty spice-trees, growing on a strong rich loam; at the back of which they found an equal extent of low shrubby trees, with much thick underwood, on a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to a second forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brown soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of the same nature with the former. This alternate succession may, perhaps, afford matter of curious speculation to naturalists. The only additional circumstance I could learn relating to it was, that these ridges appeared, as far as they could be seen, to run in directions parallel to the sea-shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre.

In passing through the woods they found many canoes half-finished, and here and there a hut; but saw none of the inhabitants. Having penetrated near three miles into the

the second wood, they came to two huts, where they stopped, exceedingly fatigued with the day's journey, having walked not less than twenty miles, according to their own computation. As they had met with no springs, from the time they left the plantation-ground, and began to suffer much from the violence of their thirst, they were obliged, before the night came on, to separate into parties, and go in search of water; and, at last, found some left by rain in the bottom of an unfinished canoe, which, though of the colour of red wine, was to them no unwelcome discovery. In the night, the cold was still more intense than they had found it before; and though they had wrapped themselves up in mats and cloths of the country, and kept a large fire between the two huts, they could yet sleep but very little, and were obliged to walk about the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now probably pretty considerable, as the ground on which they had travelled had been generally on the ascent.

On the 29th, at day-break, they set out, intending to make their last and utmost effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were much depressed, when they found they had expended the miserable pittance of water they had found the night before. The path, which extended no farther than where canoes had been built, was now at an end; and they were therefore obliged to make their way as well as they could; every now and then climbing up into the highest trees, to explore the country round. At eleven o'clock, they came to a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they saw the snowy mountain, appearing to be about twelve or fourteen miles from them.

It was here deliberated, whether they should proceed any further, or rest satisfied with the view they now had of Mouna Rao. The road, ever since the path ceased, had become exceedingly fatiguing; and every step they advanced was growing still more so. The deep chinks, with which the ground was every where broken, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble at almost every step; and the intermediate space was a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet like potsherds. They threw stones into several of these chinks, which, by the noise they made, seemed to fall to a considerable depth, and the ground sounded hollow under their feet. Besides

2 these

these discouraging circumstances, they found their guides so averse to going on, that they believed, whatever their own determinations might have been, they could not have prevailed on them to remain out another night. They therefore at last agreed to return to the ships, after taking a view of the country, from the highest trees which the place afforded. From this elevation they saw themselves surrounded, on all sides, with wood toward the sea; they could not distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and between them and the snowy mountain, was a valley about seven or eight miles broad, above which the mountain appeared only as a hill of a moderate size.

They rested this night at a hut in the second wood, and, on the 30th, before noon, they had got clear of the first, and found themselves about nine miles to the north-east of the ships, toward which they directed their march through the plantations. As they passed along, they did not observe a single spot of ground that was capable of improvement left unplanted; and indeed it appeared, from their account, hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the inhabitants, or made to yield them a larger supply of necessaries for their subsistence. They were surprised to meet with several fields of hay; and, on enquiring to what uses it was applied, were told, it was designed to cover the young tarrow grounds, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the sun. They saw a few scattered huts amongst the plantations, which served for occasional shelter to the labourers; but no villages at a greater distance than four or five miles from the sea. Near one of them, about four miles from the bay, they found a cave, forty fathoms long, three broad, and of the same height. It was open at both ends; the sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chisel, and the surface glazed over, probably by the action of fire.

Having given this account of the most material circumstances that occurred on the expedition to the snowy mountain, I shall now return to the other islands that remain to be described.

The island next in size and nearest in situation to Owhyhee, is MOWEE, which lies at the distance of eight leagues N.N.W. from the former, and is one hundred and forty geographical miles in circumference. A low isthmus divides it into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the east

east is called Whamadooa, and is double the size of the western peninsula called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise to an exceeding great height, having been seen by us at the distance of upward of thirty leagues. The northern shores, like those of Owhyhee, afford no soundings; and the country presents the same appearance of verdure and fertility. To the south-east, between this and the adjacent isles, we had regular depths with a hundred and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. From the west point, which is low, runs a shoal, stretching out toward Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the southward of this is a fine spacious bay, with a sandy beach, shaded with cocoa-nut trees. It is probable that good anchorage might be found here, with shelter from the prevailing winds, and that the beach affords a convenient place for landing. The country behind presents a most romantic appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, in a great variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, and the deep chasms between them, are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound. The tops of these hills are entirely bare, and of a reddish brown colour. We were informed by the natives that there is a harbour to the southward of the east point, which they affirmed to be superior to that of Karakakooa; and we were also told, that, on the north-west side, there was another harbour, called Keepookeepoo.

Tahoorowa is a small island lying off the S.W. part of Mowee, from which it is distant three leagues. This island is destitute of wood, and the soil seems to be sandy and barren. Between Tahowrowa and Mowee lies the small uninhabited island Morrotinnee.

Morotoi is only two leagues and a half from Mowee to the W.N.W. The south-western coast, which was the only part near which we approached, is very low, but the land rises backward to a considerable height; and, at the distance from which we saw it, appeared to be entirely without wood. Its produce, we are told, consists chiefly of yams. It may, probably, have fresh water, and on the south and west sides, the coast forms several bays that promise good shelter from the trade-winds.

Ranai is about three leagues distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and lies to the S.W. of the passage between these islands. The country to the S. is high and craggy; but the other

other parts of the island had a better aspect, and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told that it produces very few plantains and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots, such as yams, sweet potatoes, and tarrow.

Woahoo lies to the N.W. of Morotoi, at the distance of about seven leagues. As far as we could judge from the appearance of the N.E. and N.W. parts, (for we saw nothing of the southern side,) it is by far the finest island of the whole group. Nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and rich cultivated vallies, which the whole face of the country displayed. Having already given a description of the bay, formed by the N. and W. extremities, in which we came to an anchor, I have only to observe, that in the bight of the bay, to the S. of the anchoring-place, we found rocky foul ground, two miles from the shore. Should the ground tackling of a ship be weak, and the wind blow strong from the N., to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some danger; but with good cables there would be little risk, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite to the valley through which the river runs to the N. point, is a fine sand.

Atooi lies to the N.W. of Woahoo, and is distant from it about twenty-five leagues. The face of the country to the N.E. and N.W., is broken and ragged, but to the S. it is more even; the hills rise with a gentle slope from the sea-side, and, at some distance back, are covered with wood. Its productions are the same with those of the other islands; but the inhabitants far surpass all the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations. In the low grounds, adjoining to the bay where we lay at anchor, these plantations were divided by deep and regular ditches; the fences were made with a neatness approaching to elegance, and the roads through them were thrown up and finished in a manner that would have done credit to any European engineer.

Oneeheow lies five leagues to the westward of Atooi. The eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the rest of the island consists of low ground, excepting a round bluff head on the S.E. point. It produces abundance of yams, and of the sweet root called *Tee*, but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehow and Tahoora are two small islands in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Oneeheow. The former is a single high hummock, joined by a reef of coral rocks to the northern extremity of Oneeheow. The latter lies to the S. W., and is uninhabited.

The climate of the Sandwich islands differs very little from that of the West India islands, which lie in the same latitude. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate. The thermometer on shore in Karakakooa Bay, never rose higher than 88°, and that but one day; its mean height at noon was 83°. In Wymoa Bay, its mean height at noon was 76°, and when out at sea 75°. The mean height of the thermometer at noon, in Jamaica, is about 86°, at sea 80°.

Whether they be subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes, we could not discover, as we were not there in any of the stormy months. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no traces of their effects were any where visible, it is probable that, in this respect, they resemble the Society and Friendly islands, which are, in a great measure, free from these dreadful visitations.

During the four winter months that we remained amongst these islands, there was more rain, especially in the interior parts, than usually falls during the dry season in the islands of the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the tops of the hills, and producing rain to leeward; but after they are separated from the land by the wind, they disperse and are lost, and others succeed in their place. This happened daily at Owhyhee; the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud; successive showers falling in the inland country, with fine weather, and a clear sky at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were from E.S.E. to N.E.; though they sometimes varied a few points each way to the N. and S., but these were light, and of short duration. In the harbour of Karakakooa we had a constant land and sea-breeze every day and night.

The currents seemed very uncertain, sometimes setting to windward, and at other times to leeward, without any regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign; they frequently set to windward against a fresh breeze.

The tides are very regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each.

each. The flood comes from the eastward; and it is high water, at the full and change of the moon, forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Their greatest rise is two feet seven inches; and we always observed the water to be four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon, than when it was below.

The quadrupeds in these, as in all the other islands that have been discovered in the South Sea, are confined to three sorts, dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the same species with those of Otaheite, having short crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not observe any variety in them, except in their skins, some having long and rough hair, and others being quite smooth. They are about the size of a common turnspit, exceedingly sluggish in their nature, though perhaps this may be more owing to the manner in which they are treated, than to any natural disposition in them. They are in general fed and left to herd with the hogs; and I do not recollect one instance in which a dog was made a companion in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed the custom of eating them is an inseparable bar to their admission into society; and, as there are neither beasts of prey in the island, nor objects of chase, it is probable that the social qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and sagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in these islands did not appear to be nearly equal, in proportion, to those in Otaheite. But on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs; and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The supply of provisions of this kind which we got from them was really astonishing. We were near four months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly served to both crews, so that our consumption was computed at about sixty puncheons of five hundred weight each. Besides this, and the incredible waste which, in the midst of such plenty, was not to be guarded against, sixty puncheons more were salted for sea-store. The greatest part of this supply was drawn from the island of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreased.

The birds of these islands are as beautiful as any we have seen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various.

rious. There are four, which seem to belong to the *trochili*, or honey-suckers of Linnæus; one of which is something larger than a bullfinch; its colour is a fine glossy black, the rump, vent, and thighs, a deep yellow. It is called by the natives *hoohoo*. Another is of an exceedingly bright scarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white, and the tail black; its native name is *eeeeve*. A third, which seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow. The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow, and is called *akaiearooa*. There is a species of thrush, with a grey breast, and a small bird of the flycatcher kind; a rail, with very short wings and no tail, which, on that account, we named *rallus ecaudatus*. Ravens are found here, but they are very scarce; their colour is dark-brown, inclining to black, and their note is different from the European. Here are two small birds, both of one *genus*, that are very common; one is red, and generally seen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence, the other is green; the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the structure of its beak, we called a parroquet, is likewise very common. It however by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the *lexia flavicans*, or yellowish cross-bill of Linnæus.

Here are also owls, plovers of two sorts, one very like the whistling plover of Europe; a large white pigeon; a bird with a long tail, whose colour is black, the vent and feathers under the wing (which is much longer than is usually seen in the generality of birds, except the birds of paradise) are yellow; and the common water or darker hen.

Their vegetable productions are nearly the same with the rest of the South Sea islands. I have before mentioned that the *tarrow* root is much superior to any we had before tasted, and that we attributed this excellence to the dry method of cultivating it. The bread-fruit trees thrive here, not in such abundance, but produce double the quantity of fruit they do on the rich plains of Otaheite. The trees are nearly of the same height, but the branches begin to strike out from the trunk much lower, and with greater luxuriance. Their sugar-canes are also of a very unusual size. One of them was brought to us at Atooi, measuring eleven inches

and a quarter in circumference, and having fourteen feet eatable.

At Oneeheow they brought us several large roots of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight. The juice, which it yields in great abundance, is very sweet, and of a pleasant taste, and was found to be an excellent substitute for sugar. The natives are very fond of it, and use it as an article of their common diet; and our people also found it very palatable and wholesome. We could not learn to what species of plant it belonged, having never been able to procure the leaves; but it was supposed, by our botanists, to be the root of some kind of fern.

Agreeably to the practice of Captain Cook, I shall subjoin an abstract of the astronomical observations which were made at the observatory in Karakakooa Bay, for determining its latitude and longitude, and for finding the rate and error of the time-keeper. To these are subjoined the mean variation of the compass, the dip of the magnetic needle, and a table of the latitude and longitude of the Sandwich Islands.

| | |
|---|---|
| The latitude of the observatory, deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, eleven stars to the south, and four stars to the north of the zenith - | 19° 28′ 0″ N. |
| The longitude of the observatory, deduced from 253 sets of lunar observations; each set consisting of six observed distances of the moon from the sun or stars; 14 of the above sets were only taken at the observatory, 105 sets being taken whilst cruising off Owhyhee, and 134 sets when at Atooi and Oneeheow, all these being reduced to the observatory, by means of the time-keeper - - - - - - | 204 . 0 0 E. |
| The longitude of the observatory, by the time-keeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, as found at Greenwich - - - - | 214 7 15 E. |
| The longitude of the observatory, by the time-keeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, corrected | |

| | |
|---|---|
| at different places, and last at Samganoodha Harbour, in Oonalaschka - | 203° 37′ 22″ E. |
| The daily rate of the time-keeper losing on mean time, was 9″, 6; and, on the 2d February, 1779, it was 14^h 41′ 1″ too slow for mean time. | |
| The variation of the compass, by azimuths, observed on shore with four different compasses - - - - | 8 6 0 E. |
| The variation of the compass, by azimuths, observed on board the Resolution, with four different compasses - | 7 32 0 E. |
| Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with: Balanced needle | 40 22 30 E. |
| Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with: Unbalanced, or plain needle | 40 41 15 E. |
| Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on board, with: Balanced needle | 41 50 0 |
| Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on board, with: Unbalanced needle | 40 30 5 |

*A Table of the Latitude and Longitude of the Sandwich Islands.*

| | | Latitude. | | Longitude. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Owhyhee | The north point - | 20° | 17′ | 204° | 2′ |
| | South point - - | 18 | 55 | 204 | 15 |
| | East point - - | 19 | 35 | 205 | 6 |
| | Karakakooa Bay | 19 | 28 | 204 | 0 |
| Mowee | East point - | 20 | 50 | 204 | 4 |
| | South point - | 20 | 34 | 203 | 48 |
| | West point - - | 20 | 54 | 203 | 24 |
| Morokinnee - - - | | 20 | 39 | 203 | 33 |
| Tahoorowa - - - | | 20 | 38 | 203 | 27 |
| Ranai. | South point - - | 20 | 46 | 203 | 8 |
| Morotoi. | West point - | 21 | 10 | 202 | 46 |
| Woahoo. | Anchoring-place - | 21 | 43 | 202 | 9 |
| Atooi. | Wymoa Bay - - | 21 | 57 | 200 | 20 |
| Oneeheow. | Anchoring-place - | 21 | 50 | 199 | 45 |
| Oreehoua - - - | | 22 | 2 | 199 | 52 |
| Tahoora - - - | | 21 | 43 | 199 | 36 |

SECTION

## SECTION VII.

*General Account of the Sandwich Islands continued.—Of the Inhabitants.—Their Origin.—Persons.—Pernicious Effects of the Ava.—Numbers.—Disposition and Manners.—Reasons for supposing them not Cannibals.—Dress and Ornaments.—Villages and Houses.—Food.—Occupations and Amusements.—Addicted to Gaming.—Their extraordinary Dexterity in Swimming.—Arts and Manufactures.—Curious Specimens of their Sculpture.—Kipparee, or Method of Painting Cloth.—Mats.—Fishing Hooks.—Cordage.—Salt Pans.—Warlike Instruments.*

THE inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitudes of 47° S. and 20° N., and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° E. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similarity of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language.

From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature, may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed, that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes that inhabit the Ladrones and Caroline islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and Malays. When these events happened, is not so easy to ascertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin, but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the similarity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate that it could not have been at any very distant period.[1]

The

[1] The nice and highly interesting subject now adverted to, it is evident,

The natives of these islands are in general above the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheitans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances, and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying in this respect like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen any where mentioned; which is, that even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostrils, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performed by pressing the ends of their noses together.

The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the *Erees*, through all the other islands, is found also here. Those whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterward saw three natives who were hump-backed, and a young man born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common amongst them; and a man who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers,

will require a very extensive and cautious enquiry, and cannot possibly be discussed in the small compass allotted to notes. See Forster's Ob va-tions. But additional information has been obtained since the time o hat author.—E.

cers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The *Erees* are very free from these complaints, but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the *ava*. Those who were the most affected by it, had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head. Though this drug does not appear universally to shorten life, as was evident from the cases of Terreeoboo, Kaoo, and some other chiefs, who were very old men, yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepid old age. It is fortunate that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the chiefs. The young son of Terreeoboo, who was about twelve years old, used to boast of his being admitted to drink *ava*, and shewed us, with great triumph, a small spot in his side that was growing scaly.

There is something very singular in the history of this pernicious drug. When Captain Cook first visited the Society Islands, it was very little known among them. On his second voyage, he found the use of it very prevalent at Ulietea, but it had still gained very little ground at Otaheite. When we were last there, the dreadful havoc it had made was beyond belief, insomuch, that the captain scarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Islands, it is also constantly drunk by the chiefs, but so much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi, also, it is used with great moderation, and the chiefs are, in consequence, a much finer set of men there than in any of the neighbouring islands. We remarked, that, by discontinuing the use of this root, the noxious effects of it soon wore off. Our good friends, Kaireekeea and old Kaoo, were persuaded by us to refrain from it, and they recovered amazingly during the short time we afterward remained in the island.

It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are but imperfectly acquainted. There are, however, two circumstances that take away much of this objection; the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are

no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages round all their coasts. It is on this ground that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each, upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses, which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country amongst their plantations, making in all two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of the coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Owhyhee | - - - - | 150,000 |
| Mowee | - - - - | 65,400 |
| Woahoo | - - - - | 60,200 |
| Atooi | - - - - | 54,000 |
| Morotoi | - - - - | 36,000 |
| Oneeheow | - - - - | 10,000 |
| Ranai | - - - - | 20,400 |
| Oreehoua | - - - - | 4,000 |
| Total of inhabitants | - | 400,000 |

I am pretty confident, that in this calculation I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. If we compare the numbers supposed to be in Owhyhee, with the population of Otaheite, as settled by Dr Forster, this computation will be found very low. The proportion of coast in the latter island is to that of Owhyhee, only as one to three; the number of inhabitants at Otaheite he states to be one hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred; though, according

to

to his own principles, it should be double that amount. Again, if we compare it with the medium population of the countries in Europe, the proportion will be in favour of the latter nearly as two to one.[1]

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheitans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and contant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings.

It must however be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilization, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are *tabooed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating, for having eaten, on board our ship, one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and

[1] There is good reason to imagine that most of the early voyagers into the South Sea, have exaggerated the numbers of the inhabitants in the various groups of islands they met with. The present calculation, most readers will believe, is beyond the truth. Certain however it is, that almost all the recent accounts are at variance with such astonishing estimates as were formerly made. But, on the other hand, Mr Pinkerton's assertion, that "it is probable there are not above 300,000 souls in all Australasia and Polynesia," (Geog. 3d ed. 2d vol. p. 172,) must appear so extraordinary when considered in opposition to them, as at once to convey the notion of a bold adventure. Yet even this admits of some degree of probability, from the account formerly given, of the immense decrease in the population of Otaheite. Altogether the subject is imperfectly understood, and labours under peculiar difficulties; we ought to listen with some hesitation, therefore, to all assertions respecting it.—E.

and indeed they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve.

In justice however to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that excepting the few whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity.

Our unfortunate friend, Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners, asked after our king, the nature of our government, our numbers, the method of building our ships, our houses, the produce of our country, whether we had wars, with whom, and on what occasions, and in what manner they were carried on, who was our God, and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds; the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneeheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect

respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the Divinity, which obtains among most of the nations of the east, is also received here.

Though the custom of eating the bodies of their enemies be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable, that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relic of this horrid practice, still obtains universally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive, why the New Zealanders should retain the repast, which was probably the last act of these shocking rites, longer than the rest of their tribe, who were situated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich islands certainly bear a nearer resemblance to those of New Zealand, both in their persons and disposition, than to any other people of this family, so it was strongly suspected by Mr Anderson, that, like them, they still continue to feast on human flesh. The evidence on which he founds this opinion, has been stated very fully in the tenth section of the third chapter; but, as I always entertained great doubts of the justice of his conclusions, it may not be improper to take this occasion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With respect to the information derived from the natives themselves, I shall only observe, that great pains were taken, by almost every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of so curious a circumstance; and that except in the two instances mentioned by Mr Anderson, we found them invariably denying the existence of any such custom amongst them. It must be allowed, that Mr Anderson's knowledge of their language, which was superior to that of any other person in either ship, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight; at the same time, I must beg leave to remark, that being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more, than that it was intended to be eat, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed, by a circumstance which came to our knowledge, after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, viz. that almost every native of these islands carried about with him, either in his calibash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork,

pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in, (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age,) no one could have been surprised at it, who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr Anderson questioned him.

The argument drawn from the instrument made with sharks' teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice in question, has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed that in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies that were slain with their teeth; but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as near the fact as could be; but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice has actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.[3]

The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were indeed a few, amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety, in the manner of wearing the hair, is also observable here, as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which, as far as we

[3] We have elsewhere had occasion to take notice of the fact of human sacrifices and cannibalism, forming an essential particular in the history of all the South Sea islanders. It is unnecessary to occupy a moment's attention in farther enquiry respecting it, as perhaps no question, in the circle of philosophical research, has received more complete solution by the testimony of credible witnesses. He that shall attempt to controvert their evidence, will have need of all the effrontery and invincibility to truth that ever stamped the forehead or hardened the heart of a polemist.—E.

we know, they have a fashion peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head, down to the ears, leaving a ridge of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair, flowing down their backs in long ringlets, like the figure of the inhabitants of Horn Island, as seen in Dalrymple's Voyages; and others, again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself, and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth, and in time changes it to a pale yellow colour.

Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck by fine threads of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament, some of them wear on their breast a small human figure made of bone, suspended in the same manner.

The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose in bunches to the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail-feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.

The custom of *tattowing* the body, they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea islands; but it is only at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, that they *tattow* the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that in the former it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of *tattowing* the tip of the tongues of the females.

From

From some information we received, relative to the custom of *tattowing*, we were inclined to think, that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event. For we were often told, that such a particular mark was in memory of such a chief, and so of the rest. It may be here too observed, that the lowest class are often *tattowed* with a mark, that distinguishes them as the property of the several chiefs to whom they belong.[4]

The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth called the *maro*, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before ; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dress of these islanders ; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation

[4] Here, then, we have two reasons for the practice of tattowing, in addition to those which we enumerated in the account of Cook's first voyage, provided only that Captain King's information can be relied on. The first of these, it may be remarked, is so extremely similar to the practice of wounding or cutting the body for the dead, which has prevailed so extensively, that we can have no difficulty in allowing the full force of the observation. But, with respect to the second, one may incline to demur, on the ground of the improbability that such a state of servitude as it implies, could exist in so apparently primitive a condition of society. This, however, is not difficult of explanation, as the reader will find in the following section, from which one may safely infer, that the government of the Sandwich islands is by no means one which requires for its exhibition, the innocence, the liberty, and equality of the golden age. Some conclusion may hence be drawn as to the probable origin and antiquity of these islanders. But it is obvious that we are far from possessing sufficient data to enable us to enter satisfactorily on the discussion of the topic.—E.

tion in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man-of-war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow feathers, and a collar of the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose.

These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay, we never saw them used but on three occasions; in the curious ceremony of Terreeoboo's first visit to the ships; by some chiefs, who were seen among the crowd on shore when Captain Cook was killed, and afterward when Eappo brought his bones to us.

The exact resemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to enquire, whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever, nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But, notwithstanding the result of these enquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin, especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress, which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe, dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some Buccaneer, or Spanish ship, in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recollected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas is but a few degrees to the southward of the Sandwich Islands in their passage out, and to the northward

northward on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.[5]

The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half way down the thighs; and sometimes in the cool of the evening they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth, thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The *pau* is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg, so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. The hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders; all of whom differ, in this respect, from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw, indeed, one

[5] Mr Playfair in his Geography, vol. vi. p. 839, asserts, that the Sandwich islands were first discovered by Gætano, a Spanish navigator, in 1542; but he does not assign his authority, or give any clue by which the position may be verified. The fact is certainly probable, as Captain King seems to admit; and supposing it so, we can easily conceive that the distance of time from the period of the discovery above stated, would be quite sufficient to account for the natives having no tradition of such a visit. Even a much shorter period would be adequate for the total loss of almost any event in the current history of a people, who had no other method of preserving it than the impression it made on the senses, and to whom there was no excitement to impress it on the memories of succeeding generations, arising from the importance of the circumstances connected with it. The possession of iron, indeed, supposing it traced to this source, may be alleged too valuable, to have admitted such total forgetfulness of the event which occasioned it. But this difficulty readily resolves into a general remark, that even in more fortunate situations, the authors and occasions of many discoveries and inventions are soon lost sight of, in the more interesting experience of the utility that commends them. Men, in fact, are always much more anxious to avail themselves of the advantages which genius or accident has presented to their notice, than careful to testify gratitude by ascertaining and perpetuating the original sources to which they have been indebted. A case, not indeed quite parallel, instantly occurs to recollection. How few persons are there in this island, who have the smallest conception, to whom it is they are indebted for the introduction of that valuable vegetable the potatoe? The incident, no doubt, is recorded in the history of our country. But is there one in a thousand to whom the article is so familiar, that knows whence it came; or is it conceivable, that, without such a record, any individual of the present generation would have doubted for a moment that it was indigenous to Britain? We might multiply such examples almost without end. But the reader may like better to amuse himself with an enquiry into the extent of common ignorance and indifference.—E.

woman in Karakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner; it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of a shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard shining red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament called *eraie*, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once. It is a ruff, of the thickness of a finger, made in a curious manner, of exceedingly small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described.

At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament, made of shells, fastened in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other when in motion; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells, they sometimes make use of dog's teeth, and a hard red berry, resembling that of the holly.

There remains to be mentioned another ornament (if such it may be called), which is a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume; and from the lower part hung narrow stripes of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ship, laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed; or in some of their public games; or be merely intended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the

the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked, toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which, probably, are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind, being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a court-yard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this *area* they generally eat, and sit during the day-time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited; but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the only one that was visited, a stone-fence running across it within, we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish and vegetables, such as yams, sweet-potatoes, tarrow, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by Captain Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the

the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us during the short stay we made at Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagined, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats. For we also found, that the *Erees* used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea islands; and though Captain Cook complains of the sourness of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare, that I never eat better even in the Friendly Islands. It is however remarkable, that they had not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the sour paste of it called *Maihee,* as at the Society Islands; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The chiefs constantly begin their meal with a dose of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are *tabooed,* or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest a few hours after sun-set. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the *Erees;* the women are employed in manufacturing cloth; and the *Towtows* are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing; and on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

 Their

Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those of the New Zealanders than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner, and with attitudes, that are perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dancers of the other Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support the fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counterpart of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part; and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety, be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet, as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions, of the same kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted.

Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung in parts,[5] and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms,

[5] As this circumstance, of their *singing in parts*, has been much doubted by persons eminently skilled in music, and would be exceedingly curious if it were clearly ascertained, it is to be lamented that it cannot be more positively authenticated.

Captain Burney, and Captain Phillips, of the marines, who both have a tolerable knowledge of music, have given it as their opinion, that they did sing in parts; that is to say, that they sung together in different notes, which formed a pleasing harmony.

These gentlemen have fully testified, that the Friendly Islanders undoubtedly studied their performances before they were exhibited in public; that they had an idea of different notes being useful in harmony; and also, that they rehearsed their compositions in private, and threw out the inferior voices, before they ventured to appear before those who were supposed to be judges of their skill in music.

In their regular concerts each man had a bamboo, which was of a different length and gave a different tone; these they beat against the ground

arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

It is very remarkable that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row; and they make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square.

There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the parties spreads out, and rumples in such a manner that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds, of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

Besides

ground, and each performer, assisted by the note given by this instrument, repeated the same note, accompanying it by words, by which means it was rendered sometimes short and sometimes long. In this manner they sing in chorus, and not only produced octaves to each other, according to their different species of voice, but fell on concords, such as were not disagreeable to the ear.

Now, to overturn this fact, by the reasoning of persons who did not hear these performances, is rather an arduous task. And yet there is great improbability, that any uncivilized people should, by accident, arrive at this degree of perfection in the art of music, which, we imagine, can only be attained by dint of study, and knowledge of the system and theory upon which musical composition is founded. Such miserable jargon as our country psalm-singers practise, which may be justly deemed the lowest class of counterpoint, or singing in several parts, cannot be acquired, in the coarse manner in which it is performed in the churches, without considerable time and practice. It is therefore scarcely credible, that a people, semi-barbarous, should naturally arrive at any perfection in that art, which it is much doubted whether the Greeks and Romans, with all their refinements in music, ever attained, and which the Chinese, who have been longer civilized than any people on the globe, have not yet found out.

If Captain Burney (who, by the testimony of his father, perhaps the greatest musical theorist of this or any other age, was able to have done it) had written down, in European notes, the concords that these people sing; and if these concords had been such as European ears could tolerate, there would have been no longer doubt of the fact; but, as it is, it would, in my opinion, be a rash judgment to venture to affirm, that they did or did not understand counterpoint; and therefore I fear that this curious matter must be considered as still remaining undecided.

Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing matches between the boys and girls; and here, again, they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races, which he had just before purchased from us with half his substance.

Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise, in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation.

The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner: Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet they plunge under, and, suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way, by swimming out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first; the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare themselves for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the shore. If, by mistake, they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach

the

the land, or should not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and, to avoid it, are obliged again to dive, and regain the place from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or, in case of failure, to quit it before they reach the rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces, at the very moment the islander quitted it. The boldness and address with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres, were altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited.[6]

An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shews at how early a period they are so far familiarized to the water, as both to lose all fears of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overset, in which was a woman with her children, one of them an infant, who, I am convinced, was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one, which was much played at, and shewed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball, made of green leaves, moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same nature, tossing up in the air, and catching, in their turns, a number of these balls; so that we frequently

[6] An amusement somewhat similar to this, at Otaheite, has been elsewhere described.

quently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation, amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Captain Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same; and the largest we saw was a double canoe, belonging to Terreeoboo, which measured seventy feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth, and their manufacturing of mats, have been all particularly described. The most curious specimens of the former, which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls in which the chiefs drink *ava*. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four small human figures, in various attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head; others on the head and hands; and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned, and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles, in supporting the weight, well expressed.

Their cloth is made of the same materials, and in the same manner, as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted, is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together; after which it is cut in breadths, about two or three feet wide, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued is the more surprising, when we consider that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye, with pieces of bamboo-cane dipped in paint; the hand being supported by another piece of the cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries, and other vegetable substances, as at Otaheite, which have been already described by former voyagers.

The business of painting belongs entirely to the women,

and is called *kipparee;* and it is remarkable that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and shew us that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that we could make them understand that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the *pandanus;* and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares or rhomboids of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms, but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Considering the materials of which these hooks were made, their strength and neatness are really astonishing; and, in fact, we found them, upon trial, much superior to our own.

The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the *touta,* or cloth-tree; neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine; and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub, called *areemah;* and the finest is made of human hair; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of the running rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceed-

ingly

ingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for the reefing of sails.

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing-tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c. which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others, again, are exactly in the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the appearance of being painted in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied during our stay at these islands, and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near to high-water mark, from whence the salt-water is conducted to the foot of them in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

Their instruments of war are spears, daggers, called *pahooas*, clubs, and slings. The spears are of two sorts, and made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing in thickness

ness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and, instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point like their daggers.

The dagger, or *pahooa*, is made of heavy black wood, resembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm.

The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, and of a variety of shapes and sizes.

The slings have nothing singular about them; and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.

## Section VIII.

*General Account of the Sandwich Islands, continued.—Government.—People divided into three Classes.—Power of Erreetaboo.—Genealogy of the Kings of Owhyhee and Mowee.—Power of the Chiefs.—State of the inferior Class.—Punishment of Crimes.—Religion.—Society of Priests.——The Orono.—Their Idols.—Songs chanted by the Chiefs, before they drink Ava.—Human Sacrifices.—Custom of knocking out the fore Teeth.—Notions with regard to a future State.—Marriages.—Remarkable Instance of Jealousy.—Funeral Rites.*

The people of these islands are manifestly divided into three classes. The first are the *Erees*, or chiefs, of each district, one of which is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee *Eree-taboo*, and *Eree-moee*. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word signifies) in his presence. The second class are those who appear to enjoy a right of property without authority. The third are the *towtows*, or servants, who have neither rank nor property.

It is not possible to give any thing like a systematical account

account of the subordination of these classes to each other, without departing from that strict veracity, which, in works of this nature, is more satisfactory than conjectures, however ingenious. I will, therefore, content myself with relating such facts as we were witnesses to ourselves, and such accounts as we thought could be depended upon; and shall leave the reader to form from them his own ideas of the nature of their government.

The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo, the *Eree-taboo* of Owhyhee, was very evident, from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa, on his first arrival. All the natives were seen prostrated at the entrance of their houses; and the canoes, for two days before, were *tabooed,* or forbidden to go out, till he took off the restraint. He was at this time just returned from Mowee, for the possession of which he was contending in favour of his son Teewarro, who had married the daughter and only child of the late king of that island, against Tabeeterree, his surviving brother. He was attended, in this expedition, by many of his warriors; but whether their service was voluntary, or the condition on which they hold their rank and property, we could not learn.

That he collects tribute from the subordinate chiefs, we had a very striking proof in the instance of Kaoo, which has been already related in our transactions of the 2d and 3d of February.

I have before mentioned, that the two most powerful chiefs of these islands, are, Terreeoboo of Owhyhee, and Perreeorannee of Wohahoo; the rest of the smaller isles being subject to one or other of these; Mowee, and its dependencies, being at this time claimed, as we have just observed, by Terreeoboo, for Teewarro, his son and intended successor; Atooi and Oneeheow being governed by the grandsons of Perreorannee.

The following genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee kings, which I collected from the priests, during our residence at the *morai,* in Karakakooa Bay, contains all the information I could procure relative to the political history of these islands.

This account reaches to four chiefs, predecessors of the present; all of whom they represent to have lived to an old age. Their names and successions are as follows:

First, Poorahoo Awhykaia was king of Owhyhee, and had

had an only son called Neerooagooa. At this time Mowee was governed by Mokoakea, who had also an only son, named Papikaneeou.

Secondly, Neerooagooa had three sons, the eldest named Kahavee; and Papikaneeou, of the Mowee race, had an only son, named Kaowreeka.

Thirdly, Kahavee had an only son, Kayenewee a mummow; and Kaowreeka, the Mowee king, had two sons, Maiha-maiha, and Taheeterree; the latter of whom is now, by one party, acknowledged chief of Mowee.

Fourthly, Kayenewee a mummow had two sons, Terreeoboo and Kaihooa; and Maiha-maiha, king of Mowee, had no son, but left a daughter called Roaho.

Fifthly, Terreeoboo, the present king of Owhyhee, had a son, named Teewarro, by Rora-rora, the widow of Maiha-maiha, late king of Mowee; and this son has married Roaho, his half-sister, in whose right he claims Mowee and its appendages.

Taheeterree, the brother of the late king, supported by a considerable party, who were not willing that the possessions should go into another family, took up arms, and opposed the rights of his niece.

When we were first off Mowee, Terreeoboo was there with his warriors, to support the claims of his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and had fought a battle with the opposite party, in which Taheeterree was worsted. We afterwards understood that matters had been compromised, and that Taheeterree is to have the possession of the three neighbouring islands during his life; that Teewarro is acknowledged the chief of Mowee, and will also succeed to the kingdom of Owhyhee on the death of Terreeoboo; and also to the sovereignty of the three islands contiguous to Mowee, on the death of Taheeterree. Teewarro has been lately married to his half-sister, and, should he die without issue, the government of these islands descends to Maiha-maiha, whom we have often had occasion to mention, he being the son of Kaihooa, the deceased brother of Terreeoboo. Should he also die without issue, they could not tell who would succeed; for the two youngest sons of Terreeoboo, one of whom he appears to be exceedingly fond of, being born of a woman of no rank, would, from this circumstance, be debarred all right of succession. We had not an opportunity of seeing queen Rora-rora, whom Terreeoboo

Terreeoboo had left behind at Mowee; but we have already had occasion to take notice, that he was accompanied by Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the two youths, to whom he was much attached.

From this account of the genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee monarchs, it is pretty clear that the government is hereditary; which also makes it very probable, that the inferior titles, and property itself, descend in the same course. With regard to Perreeorannee, we could only learn that he is an *Eree-taboo;* that he was invading the possession of Taheeterree, but on what pretence we were not informed; and that his grandsons governed the islands to leeward.

The power of the *Erees* over the inferior classes of people appears to be very absolute. Many instances of this occurred daily during our stay amongst them, and have been already related. The people, on the other hand, pay them the most implicit obedience; and this state of servility has manifestly had a great effect in debasing both their minds and bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that the chiefs were never guilty, as far at least as came within my knowledge, of any acts of cruelty or injustice, or even of insolent behaviour toward them; though, at the same time, they exercised their power over one another in the most haughty and oppressive manner. Of this I shall give two instances. A chief of the lower order had behaved with great civility to the master of the ship, when he went to examine Karakakooa Bay, the day before the ship first arrived there; and, in return, I afterward carried him on board, and introduced him to Captain Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea entered, whose face but too plainly manifested his indignation at seeing our guest in so honourable a situation. He immediately seized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the captain interfered, and, after a great deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea, was, that our guest should be suffered to remain, being seated upon the floor, whilst Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeoboo first came on board the Resolution, Maiha-maiha, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ship

ship in the most ignominious manner; and yet Pareea we certainly knew to be a man of the first consequence.

How far the property of the lower class is secured against the rapacity and despotism of the great chiefs, I cannot say, but it should seem that it is sufficiently protected against private theft, or mutual depredation; for not only their plantations, which are spread over the whole country, but also their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, were left unguarded, without the smallest apprehensions. I have already remarked, that they not only separate their possessions by walls in the plain country, but that, in the woods likewise, wherever the horse-plantains grow, they make use of small white flags, in the same manner, and for the same purpose of discriminating property, as they do bunches of leaves at Otaheite. All which circumstances, if they do not amount to proofs, are strong indications that the power of the chiefs, where property is concerned, is not arbitrary, but at least so far circumscribed and ascertained, as to make it worth the while for the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, and to occupy their possessions distinct from each other.

With respect to the administration of justice, all the information we could collect was very imperfect and confined. Whenever any of the lowest class of people had a quarrel amongst themselves, the matter in dispute was referred to the decision of some chief, probably the chief of the district, or the person to whom they appertained. If an inferior chief had given cause of offence to one of a higher rank, the feelings of the latter at the moment seemed the only measure of his punishment. If he had the good fortune to escape the first transports of his superior's rage, he generally found means, through the mediation of some third person, to compound for his crime by a part or the whole of his property and effects. These were the only facts that came to our knowledge on this head.

The religion of these people resembles, in most of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Islands. Their *morais*, their *whattas*, their idols, their sacrifices, and their sacred songs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs that their religious notions are derived from the same source. In the length and number of their ceremonies, this branch indeed far exceeds the rest; and though in all these countries there is a cer-

tain

tain class of men, to whose care the performance of their religious rites is committed, yet we never met with a regular society of priests, till we discovered the cloisters of Kakooa in Karakakooa Bay. The head of this order was called *Orono*; a title which we imagined to imply something highly sacred, and which, in the person of Omeeah, was honoured almost to adoration. It is probable, that the privilege of entering into this order (at least as to the principal offices in it) is limited to certain families. Omeeah, the *Orono*, was the son of Kaoo, and the uncle of Kaireekeea, which last presided, during the absence of his grandfather, in all religious ceremonies at the *morai*. It was also remarked, that the child of Omeeah, an only son, about five years old, was never suffered to appear without a number of attendants, and such other marks of care and solicitude as we saw no other like instance of. This seemed to indicate that his life was an object of the greatest moment, and that he was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father.

It has been mentioned, that the title of *Orono*, with all its honours, was given to Captain Cook; and it is also certain that they regarded us generally as a race of people superior to themselves, and used often to say that great *Eatooa* dwelled in our country. The little image, which we have before described as the favourite idol on the *morai* in Karakakooa Bay, they call *Koonooraekaiee*, and said it was Terreeoboo's god, and that he also resided amongst us.

There are found an infinite variety of these images both on the *morais*, and within and without their houses, to which they give different names; but it soon became obvious to us in how little estimation they were held, from their frequent expressions of contempt of them, and from their even offering them to sale for trifles. At the same time there seldom failed to be some one particular figure in favour, to which, whilst this preference lasted, all their adoration was addressed. This consisted in arraying it in red cloth, beating their drums, and singing hymns before it, laying bunches of red feathers, and different sorts of vegetables, at its feet, and exposing a pig or a dog to rot on the *whatta*, that stood near it.

In a bay to the southward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward, the limbs well formed,

ed, and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives call *Maee;* and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the *Eatooas* of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of *whattas,* on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.

It hath been remarked by former voyagers, that, both among the Society and Friendly Islanders, an adoration is paid to particular birds; and I am led to believe that the same custom prevails here; and that, probably, the raven is the object of it, from seeing two of these birds tame at the village of Kakooa, which they told me were *Eatooas;* and, refusing every thing I offered for them, cautioned me, at the same time, not to hurt or offend them.

Amongst their religious ceremonies may be reckoned the prayers and offerings made by the priests before their meals. Whilst the *ava* is chewing, of which they always drink before they begin their repast, the person of the highest rank takes the lead in a sort of hymn, in which he is presently joined by one, two, or more of the company; the rest moving their bodies, and striking their hands gently together, in concert with the singers. When the *ava* is ready, cups of it are handed about to those who did not join in the song, which they keep in their hands till it is ended; when, uniting in one loud response, they drink off their cup. The performers of the hymn are then served with *ava,* who drink it after a repetition of the same ceremony; and if there be present one of a very superior rank, a cup is, last of all, presented to him, which, after chanting some time alone, and being answered by the rest, and pouring a little out on the ground, he drinks off. A piece of the flesh that is dressed is next cut off, without any selection of the part of the animal, which, together with some of the vegetables, being deposited at the foot of the image of the *Eatooa,* and a hymn chanted, their meal commences. A ceremony of much the same kind is also performed by the chiefs, whenever they drink *ava* between their meals.

Human sacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themselves, than in any other islands we visited. These horrid rites are not only had recourse to upon the commencement of war, and preceding great

great battles and other signal enterprises, but the death of any considerable chief calls for a sacrifice of one or more *Towtows,* according to his rank; and we were told, that ten men were destined to suffer on the death of Terreeoboo. What may, if any thing possibly can, lessen, in some small degree, the horror of this practice is, that the unhappy victims have not the most distant intimation of their fate. Those who are fixed upon to fall, are set upon with clubs wherever they happen to be, and, after being dispatched, are brought dead to the place, where the remainder of the rites are completed. The reader will here call to his remembrance the skulls of the captives that had been sacrificed at the death of some great chief, and which were fixed on the rails round the top of the *morai* at Kakooa. We got a farther piece of intelligence upon this subject at the village of Kowrowa; where, on our enquiring into the use of a small piece of ground, inclosed with a stone-fence, we were told that it was an *Here-eere,* or burying-ground of a chief; and there, added our informer, pointing to one of the corners, lie the *tangata* and *waheene taboo,* or the man and woman who were sacrificed at his funeral.

To this class of their customs may also be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth. Scarce any of the lower people, and very few of the chiefs, were seen, who had not lost one or more of them; and we always understood that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa,* to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed.

We were able to learn but little of their notions with regard to a future state. Whenever we asked them whither the dead were gone? we were always answered, that the breath, which they appeared to consider as the soul, or immortal part, was gone to the *Eatooa;* and, on pushing our enquiries farther, they seemed to describe some particular place, where they imagined the abode of the deceased to be; but we could not perceive that they thought, in this state, either rewards or punishments awaited them.

Having promised the reader an explanation of what was meant by the word *taboo,* I shall, in this place, lay before him the particular instances that fell under our observation of

of its application and effects. On our enquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives, the day preceding the arrival of Terreeoboo, we were told that the bay was *tabooed*. The same restriction took place, at our request, the day we interred the bones of Captain Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scrupulous obedience, but whether on any religious principle, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs, I cannot determine. When the ground near our observatories, and the place where our masts lay, were *tabooed*, by sticking small wands round them, this operated in a manner not less efficacious. But though this mode of consecration was performed by the priests only, yet still, as the men ventured to come within the space, when invited by us, it should seem that they were under no religious apprehensions, and that their obedience was limited to our refusal only. The women could, by no means, be induced to come near us; but this was probably on account of the *morai* adjoining, which they are prohibited, at all times, and in all the islands of those seas, from approaching. Mention hath been already made, that women are always *tabooed*, or forbidden to eat certain kind of meats. We also frequently saw several at their meals, who had the meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our asking the reason of this singularity, were told that they were *tabooed*, or forbidden to feed themselves. This prohibition, we understood, was always laid on them after they had assisted at any funeral, or touched a dead body, and also on other occasions. It is necessary to observe, that on these occasions they apply the word *taboo* indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say, the natives were *tabooed*, or the bay was *tabooed*, and so of the rest. This word is also used to express any thing sacred, or eminent, or devoted. Thus the king of Owhyhee was called *Eree-taboo*, a human victim, *tangata-taboo*; and, in the same manner, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, the island where the king resides, is named *Tonga-taboo*.

Concerning their marriages, I can afford the reader little farther satisfaction than informing him, that such a relation or compact exists amongst them. I have already had occasion to mention, that at the time Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora-rora at Mowee, he was attended by another woman,

woman, by whom he had children, and to whom he was very much attached; but how far polygamy, properly speaking, is allowed, or how far it is mixed with concubinage, either with respect to the king, the chiefs, or among the inferior orders, too few facts came to our knowledge to justify any conclusions. It hath also been observed, that, except Kaneekabareea, and the wife of the Orono, with three women whom I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, we never saw any female of high rank. From what I had an opportunity of observing of the domestic concerns of the lowest class, the house seemed to be under the direction of one man and woman, and the children in the like state of subordination as in civilized countries.

It will not be improper, in this place, to take notice, that we were eye-witnesses of a fact, which, as it was the only instance we saw of any thing like jealousy among them, shews, at the same time, that not only fidelity, but a degree of reserve, is required from the married women of consequence. At one of the entertainments of boxing, Omeeah was observed to rise from his place two or three times, and to go up to his wife with strong marks of displeasure, ordering her, as it appeared to us from his manner, to withdraw. Whether it was, that being very handsome, he thought she drew too much of our attention, or without being able to determine what other reason he might have for his conduct, it is but justice to say, that there existed no real cause of jealousy. However, she kept her place, and when the entertainment was over, joined our party, and, soliciting some trifling presents, was given to understand that we had none about us, but that if she would accompany us toward our tent, she should return with such as she liked best. She was accordingly walking along with us, which Omeeah observing, followed in a violent rage, and seizing her by the hair, began to inflict, with his fists, a severe corporeal punishment. This sight, especially as we had innocently been the cause of it, gave us much concern; and yet we were told, that it would be highly improper to interfere between man and wife of such high rank. We were, however, not left without the consolation of seeing the natives at last interpose, and had the farther satisfaction of meeting them together the next day, in perfect good humour with each other; and, what is still more singular, the lady would not suffer us to remonstrate with

with her husband on his treatment of her, which we were much inclined to do, and plainly told us, that he had done no more than he ought.

Whilst I was ashore at the observatory at Karakakooa Bay, I had twice an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of their funeral rites. Intelligence was brought me of the death of an old chief in a house near our observatories, soon after the event happened. On going to the place, I found a number of people assembled, and seated round a square *area*, fronting the house in which the deceased lay, whilst a man, in a red-feathered cap, advanced from an interior part of the house to the door, and, putting out his head, at almost every moment uttered a most lamentable howl, accompanied with the most singular grimaces and violent distortions of his face that can be conceived. After this had passed a short time, a large mat was spread upon the *area*, and two men and thirteen women came out of the house, and sate themselves down upon it, in three equal rows; the two men and three of the women being in front. The necks and hands of the women were decorated with feathered ruffs; and broad green leaves, curiously scolloped, were spread over their shoulders. At one corner of this *area*, near a small hut, were half a dozen boys, waving small white banners, and the tufted wands, or *taboo* sticks, which have been often mentioned, who would not permit us to approach them. This led me to imagine that the dead body might be deposited in this little hut; but I afterwards understood, that it was in the house where the man in the red cap opened the rites, by playing his tricks at the door. The company just mentioned being seated on the mat, began to sing a melancholy tune, accompanied with a slow and gentle motion of the body and arms. When this had continued some time, they raised themselves on their knees, and, in a posture between kneeling and sitting, began by degrees to move their arms and their bodies with great rapidity, the tune always keeping pace with their motions. As these last exertions were too violent to continue long, they resumed, at intervals, their slower movements; and, after this performance had lasted an hour, more mats were brought and spread upon the *area*, and four or five elderly women, amongst whom I was told was the dead chief's wife, advanced slowly out of the house, and seating themselves in the front of the first company, began to cry and

wail

wail most bitterly; the women in the three rows behind joining them, whilst the two men inclined their heads over them in a very melancholy and pensive attitude. At this period of the rites, I was obliged to leave them to attend at the observatory; but returning within half an hour, found them in the same situation. I continued with them till late in the evening, and left them proceeding, with little variation, as just described; resolving, however, to attend early in the morning, to see the remainder of the ceremony. On my arrival at the house, as soon as it was day, I found, to my mortification, the crowd dispersed, and every thing quiet; and was given to understand, that the corpse was removed; nor could I learn in what manner it was disposed of. I was interrupted in making farther enquiries for this purpose, by the approach of three women of rank, who, whilst their attendants stood near them with their fly-flaps, sat down by us, and, entering into conversation, soon made me comprehend that our presence was a hindrance to the performance of some necessary rites. I had hardly got out of sight, before I heard their cries and lamentations; and meeting them a few hours afterward, I found they had painted the lower part of their faces perfectly black.

The other opportunity I had of observing these ceremonies, was in the case of an ordinary person; when, on hearing some mournful female cries issue from a miserable-looking hut, I ventured into it, and found an old woman with her daughter, weeping over the body of an elderly man, who had but just expired, being still warm. The first step they took was to cover the body with cloth, after which, lying down by it, they drew the cloth over themselves, and then began a mournful kind of song, frequently repeating, *Aweh medooah! Aweh tanee!* Oh my father! Oh my husband! A younger daughter was also at the same time lying prostrate, in a corner of the house, covered over with black cloth, repeating the same words. On leaving this melancholy scene, I found at the door a number of their neighbours collected together, and listening to their cries with profound silence. I was resolved not to miss this opportunity of seeing in what manner they dispose of the body; and, therefore, after satisfying myself before I went to bed that it was not then removed, I gave orders that the sentries should walk backward and forward before the house, and, in case they suspected any measures were taking for

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the removal of the body, to give me immediate notice. However, the sentries had not kept a good look-out, for in the morning I found the body was gone. On enquiring what they had done with it, they pointed toward the sea; indicating most probably thereby, that it had been committed to the deep, or perhaps that it had been carried beyond the bay, to some burying-ground in another part of the country. The chiefs are interred in the *morais,* or *Heree-erees,* with the men sacrificed on the occasion, by the side of them; and we observed that the *morai,* where the chief had been buried, who, as I have already mentioned, was killed in the cave after so stout a resistance, was hung round with red cloth.

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER VI.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH, BY THE WAY OF KAMTSCHATKA; AND ON THE RETURN HOME BY THE WAY OF CANTON AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

### SECTION I.

*Departure from Oneeheow.—Fruitless Attempt to discover Modoopapappa.—Course steered for Awatska Bay.—Occurrences during that Passage.—Sudden Change from Heat to Cold.—Distress occasioned by the leaking of the Resolution.—View of the Coast of Kamtschatka.—Extreme Rigour of the Climate.—Lose Sight of the Discovery.—The Resolution enters the Bay of Awatska.—Prospect of the Town of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.—Party sent ashore.—Their Reception by the Commanding-Officer of the Port.—Message dispatched to the Commander at Bolcheretsk.—Arrival of the Discovery.—Return of the Messengers from the Commander.—Extraordinary Mode of Travelling.—Visit from a Merchant and a German Servant belonging to the Commander.*

ON the 15th of March, at seven in the morning, we weighed anchor, and passing to the north of Tahoora, stood on to the south-west, in hopes of falling in with the island of Modoopapappa, which, we were told by the natives, lay in that direction, about five hours sail from Tahoora. At four in the afternoon, we were overtaken by a stout canoe, with ten men, who were going from Oneeheow to Tahoora, to kill tropic and man-of-war birds, with which that place was said to abound. It has been mentioned before, that the feathers of these birds are in great request, being

being much used in making their cloaks and other ornamental parts of their dress.

At eight, having seen nothing of the island, we hauled the wind to the northward till midnight, and then tacked, and stood on a wind to the south-east till day-light next morning, at which time Tahoora bore E.N.E., five or six leagues distant. We afterward steered W.S.W, and made the Discovery's signal to spread four miles upon our starboard-beam. At noon our latitude was 21° 27′, and our longitude 198° 42′; and having stood on till five, in the same direction, we made the Discovery's signal to come under our stern, and gave over all hopes of seeing Modoopapappa. We conceived that it might probably lie in a more southerly direction from Tahoora, than that in which we had steered; though, after all, it is possible that we might have passed it in the night, as the islanders described it to be very small, and almost even with the surface of the sea.

The next day we steered west; it being Captain Clerke's intention to keep as near as possible in the same parallel of latitude, till we should make the longitude of Awatska Bay, and afterward to steer due north for the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in that bay, which was also appointed for our rendezvous in case of separation. This track was chosen on account of its being, as far as we knew, unexplored; and we were not without hopes of falling in with some new island on our passage.

We had scarcely seen a bird since our losing sight of Tahoora, till the 18th in the afternoon, when, being in the latitude of 21° 12′, and the longitude of 194° 45′, the appearance of a great many boobies, and some man-of-war birds, made us keep a sharp look-out for land. Toward evening the wind lessened, and the north-east swell, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been so heavy as to make the ships labour exceedingly, was much abated. The next day we saw no appearance of land; and at noon, we steered a point more to the southward, viz. W. by S., in the hopes of finding the trade-winds, (which blew almost invariably from the E. by N.,) fresher as we advanced within the tropic. It is somewhat singular that, though we saw no birds in the forenoon, yet toward evening we had again a number of boobies and man-of-war birds about us. This seemed to indicate that we had passed the land from whence the

former flights had come, and that we were approaching some other low island.[1]

The wind continued very moderate, with fine weather, till the 23d, when it freshened from the N.E. by E., and increased to a strong gale, which split some of our old sails, and made the running rigging very frequently give way. This gale lasted twelve hours; it then became more moderate, and continued so till the 25th at noon, when we entirely lost it, and had only a very light air.

On the 26th, in the morning, we thought we saw land to the W.S.W.; but, after running about sixteen leagues in that direction, we found our mistake; and night coming on, we again steered W. Our latitude, at this time, was 19° 45′, which was the greatest southing we made in this run; our longitude was 183°, and variation 12° 45′ E. We continued in this course, with little alteration in the wind, till the 29th, when it shifted to the S.E. and S.S.E., and, for a few hours in the night, it was in the W.; the weather being dark and cloudy, with much rain. We had met, for some days past, several turtles, one of which was the smallest I ever saw, not exceeding three inches in length. We were also accompanied by man-of-war birds, and boobies of an unusual kind, being quite white, except the tip of the wing,

[1] It is highly probable that there are several small islands or rocks in the vicinity of this track, the discovery of which would at least benefit navigation. Thus we are told by Captain Krusenstern, an authority to which we are always glad to appeal, that he saw in latitude 17°, and longitude 169° 30′, an extraordinary number of birds, that hovered round his ship in flocks of upwards of a hundred, from which he inferred his having passed near some island, which served as a resting place for them. In confirmation of this opinion, he informs us, that La Perouse in 1786, and an English merchantman in 1796, discovered west of the Sandwich Islands, the first in the parallel of 22°, and the latter in that of 18°, two small rocky islands both extremely dangerous; and that the Nero in her passage from America to China in 1805, found near this place a very dangerous sand island, viz. in 173° 35′ 45″ W., and 26° 2′ 48″ N. It is perhaps to be regretted, that Krusenstern, who, a few days after the date of the remark now quoted, crossed Captain Clerke's course, should have so resolutely endeavoured, as he says he did, and that too with tolerable success, not to approach the track of that officer nearer than by a hundred or a hundred and twenty miles. It is evident, that, within a smaller distance, he might have made some useful discovery, without, in any measure, endangering his own reputation, as a mere follower in the footsteps of others. Here it may be added, that his course was more northerly than Clerke's, and that he did not experience any of those swells so soon complained of by Captain King.—E.

wing, which was black, and easily mistaken, at first sight, for gannets.

The light winds which we had met with for some time past, with the present unsettled state of the weather, and the little appearance of any change for the better, induced Captain Clerke to alter his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes; and accordingly, at six this evening, we began to steer N.W. by N., at which time our latitude was 20° 23′, and our longitude 180° 40′. During the continuance of the light winds, which prevailed almost constantly ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands, the weather was very close, and the air hot and sultry; the thermometer being generally at 80°, and sometimes at 83°. All this time we had a considerable swell from the N.E.; and in no period of the voyage did the ships roll and strain so violently.

In the morning of the 1st of April, the wind changed from the S.E. to the N.E. by E., and blew a fresh breeze till the morning of the 4th, when it altered two points more to the E., and by noon increased to a strong gale, which lasted till the afternoon of the 5th, attended with hazy weather. It then again altered its direction to the S.E., became more moderate, and was accompanied by heavy showers of rain. During all this time, we kept steering to the N.W. against a slow, but regular current from that quarter, which caused a constant variation from our reckoning by the log, of fifteen miles a day. On the 4th, being then in the latitude 26° 17′, and longitude 173° 30′, we passed prodigious quantities of what sailors call Portuguese men-of-war (*holothuria physalis*), and were also accompanied with a great number of sea-birds, amongst which we observed, for the first time, the albatross and sheerwater.

On the 6th, at noon, we lost the trade-wind, and were suddenly taken aback, with the wind from the N.N.W. At this time our latitude was 29° 50′, and our longitude 170° 1′. As the old running ropes were constantly breaking in the late gales, we reeved what new ones we had left, and made such other preparations as were necessary for the very different climate with which we were now shortly to encounter. The fine weather we met with between the tropics had not been idly spent. The carpenters found sufficient employment in repairing the boats. The best bower-cable had been so much damaged by the foul ground in

Karakakooa Bay, and whilst we were at anchor off Oneeheow, that we were obliged to cut forty fathoms from it; in converting of which, with other old cordage into spun-yarn, and applying it to different uses, a considerable part of the people were kept constantly employed by the boatswain. The airing of sails and other stores, which, from the leakiness of the decks and sides of the ships, were perpetually subject to be wet, had now become a frequent as well as a laborious and troublesome part of our duty.

Besides these cares, which had regard only to the ships themselves, there were others, which had for their object the preservation of the health of the crews, that furnished a constant occupation to a great number of our hands. The standing orders, established by Captain Cook, of airing the bedding, placing fires between deck, washing them with vinegar, and smoking them with gunpowder, were observed without any intermission. For some time past, even the operation of mending the sailors' old jackets had risen into a duty both of difficulty and importance. It may be necessary to inform those who are unacquainted with the disposition and habits of seamen, that they are so accustomed in ships of war to be directed in the care of themselves by their officers, that they lose the very idea of foresight, and contract the thoughtlessness of infants. I am sure, that if our people had been left to their own discretion alone, we should have had the whole crew naked, before the voyage had been half finished. It was natural to expect, that their experience, during our voyage to the north last year, would have made them sensible of the necessity of paying some attention to these matters; but if such reflections ever occurred to them, their impression was so transitory, that upon our return to the tropical climates, their fur-jackets, and the rest of their cold country clothes, were kicked about the decks as things of no value; though it was generally known in both ships, that we were to make another voyage toward the Pole. They were of course picked up by the officers; and being put into casks, restored about this time to the owners.

In the afternoon we observed some of the sheathing floating by the ship; and on examination found that twelve or fourteen feet had been washed off from under the larboard bow, where we supposed the leak to have been, which ever since our leaving Sandwich Islands, had kept the people almost

almost constantly at the pumps, making twelve inches water an hour. This day we saw a number of small crabs, of a pale blue colour; and had again, in company, a few albatrosses and sheerwaters. The thermometer in the night-time sunk eleven degrees; and although it remained as high as 59°, yet we suffered much from the cold, our feelings being as yet by no means reconciled to that degree of temperature.

The wind continued blowing fresh from the N. till the 8th in the morning, when it became more moderate, with fair weather, and gradually changed its direction to the E., and afterward to the S.

On the 9th, at noon, our latitude was 32° 16′, our longitude 166° 40′, and the variation 8° 30′ E. And on the 10th, having crossed the track of the Spanish galleons from the Manillas to Acapulco, we expected to have fallen in with the island of Rica de Plata, which, according to De Lisle's chart, in which the route of those ships is laid down, ought to have been in sight; its latitude, as there given, being 33° 30′ N., and its longitude 166° E. Notwithstanding we were so far advanced to the northward, we saw this day a tropic-bird, and also several other kinds of sea-birds, such as puffins, sea-parrots, sheerwaters, and albatrosses.

On the 11th, at noon, we were in latitude 35° 30′, longitude 165° 45′; and during the course of the day, had sea-birds as before, and passed several bunches of sea-weed. About the same time, the Discovery passed a log of wood; but no other signs of land were seen.

The next day the wind came gradually round to the east, and increased to so strong a gale, as obliged us to strike our top-gallant yards, and brought us under the lower sails, and the main top-sail close-reefed. Unfortunately we were upon that tack, which was the most disadvantageous for our leak. But as we had always been able to keep it under with the hand-pumps, it gave us no great uneasiness till the 13th, about six in the afternoon, when we were greatly alarmed by a sudden inundation, that deluged the whole space between decks. The water, which had lodged in the coal-hole, not finding a sufficient vent into the well, had forced up the platforms over it, and in a moment set every thing afloat. Our situation was indeed exceedingly distressing; nor did we immediately see any means of relieving ourselves. A pump, through the upper decks into the coal-hole,

coal-hole, could answer no end, as it would very soon have been choaked up by the small coals; and to bale the water out with buckets was become impracticable, from the number of bulky materials that were washed out of the gunner's store-room into it, and which, by the ship's motion, were tossed violently from side to side. No other method was therefore left, but to cut a hole through the bulk-head (or partition) that separated the coal-hole from the fore-hold, and by that means to make a passage for the body of water into the well. However, before that could be done, it was necessary to get the casks of dry provisions out of the fore-hold, which kept us employed the greatest part of the night; so that the carpenters could not get at the partition till the next morning. As soon as the passage was made, the greatest part of the water emptied itself into the well, and enabled us to get out the rest with buckets. But the leak was now so much increased, that we were obliged to keep one half of the people constantly pumping and baling, till the noon of the 15th. Our men bore with great cheerfulness this excessive fatigue, which was much increased by their having no dry place to sleep in; and on this account we began to serve their full allowance of grog.

The weather now becoming more moderate, and the swell less heavy, we were enabled to clear away the rest of the casks from the fore-hold, and to open a sufficient passage for the water to the pumps. This day we saw a greenish piece of drift-wood, and fancying the water coloured, we sounded, but got no bottom with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line. Our latitude at noon this day was 41° 52′, longitude 161° 15′, variation 6° 30′ E.; and the wind soon after veering to the northward, we altered our course three points to the west.

On the 16th at noon, we were in the latitude of 42° 12′, and in the longitude of 160° 5′; and as we were now approaching the place where a great extent of land is said to have been seen by De Gama, we were glad of the opportunity which the course we were steering gave, of contributing to remove the doubts, if any should be still entertained, respecting the falsehood of this pretended discovery. For it is to be observed, that no one has ever yet been able to find who John de Gama was, when he lived, or what year this pretended discovery was made.

According to Mr Muller, the first account of it given to the

the public was in a chart published by Texeira, a Portuguese geographer, in 1649, who places it ten or twelve degrees to the north-east of Japan, between the latitudes of 44° and 45°; and announces it to be *land seen by John de Gama, the Indian, in a voyage from China to New Spain.* On what grounds the French geographers have since removed it five degrees to the eastward, does not appear; except we suppose it to have been done in order to make room for another discovery made by the Dutch, called *Company's Land;* of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

During the whole day the wind was exceedingly unsettled, being seldom steady to two or three points, and blowing in fresh gusts, which were succeeded by dead calms. These were not unpromising appearances; but after standing off and on the whole of this day, without seeing any thing of the land, we again steered to the northward, not thinking it worth our while to lose time in search of an object, the opinion of whose existence had been already pretty generally exploded. Our people were employed the whole of the 16th, in getting their wet things dry, and in airing the ships below.

We now began to feel very sharply the increasing inclemency of the northern climate. In the morning of the 18th, our latitude being 45° 40′, and our longitude 160° 25′, we had snow and sleet, accompanied with strong gales from the S.W. This circumstance will appear very remarkable, if we consider the season of the year, and the quarter from which the wind blew. On the 19th, the thermometer in the day-time remained at the freezing point, and at four in the morning fell to 29°. If the reader will take the trouble to compare the degree of heat, during the hot sultry weather we had at the beginning of this month, with the extreme cold which we now endured, he will conceive how severely so rapid a change must have been felt by us.

In the gale of the 18th, we had split almost all the sails we had bent, which being our second best suit, we were now reduced to make use of our last and best set. To add to Captain Clerke's difficulties, the sea was in general so rough, and the ships so leaky, that the sail-makers had no place to repair the sails in, except his apartments, which in his

his declining state of health was a serious inconvenience to him.

On the 20th at noon, being in latitude 49° 45′ N., and longitude 161° 15′ E., and eagerly expecting to fall in with the coast of Asia, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and continued in the same quarter the following day. However, although it retarded our progress, yet the fair weather it brought was no small refreshment to us. In the forenoon of the 21st we saw a whale and a land-bird; and in the afternoon the water looking muddy, we sounded, but got no ground with an hundred and forty fathoms of line. During the three preceding days, we saw large flocks of wild fowl, of a species resembling ducks. This is usually considered as a proof of the vicinity of land, but we had no other signs of it since the 16th, in which time we had run upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues.

On the 22d the wind shifted to the N.E., attended with misty weather. The cold was exceedingly severe, and the ropes were so frozen that it was with difficulty we could force them through the blocks. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 51° 38′, longitude 160° 7′; and on comparing our present position with that given to the southern parts of Kamtschatka in the Russian charts, Captain Clerke did not think it prudent to run on toward the land all night. We therefore tacked at ten, and having found, had ground agreeably to our conjectures, with seventy fathoms of line.

On the 23d, at six in the morning, being in latitude 52° 09′, and longitude 160° 07′, on the fog clearing away, the land appeared in mountains covered with snow; and extending from N. ¾ E., to S.W.; a high conical rock, bearing S.W., ¾ W., at three or four leagues distance. We had no sooner taken this imperfect view, than we were again covered with a thick fog. Being now, according to our maps, only eight leagues from the entrance of Awatska Bay, as soon as the weather cleared up we stood in to take a nearer view of the land; and a more dismal and dreary prospect I never beheld. The coast appears strait and uniform, having no inlets or bays; the ground from the shore rises in hills of a moderate elevation, behind which are ranges of mountains, whose summits were lost in the clouds. The whole scene was entirely covered with snow, except the sides of some of the cliffs which rose too abruptly from the sea for the snow to lie upon them.

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The wind continued blowing very strong from the N.E., with thick hazy weather and sleet, from the 24th to the 28th. During the whole time, the thermometer was never higher than 30½°. The ship appeared to be a complete mass of ice; the shrowds were so incrusted with it, as to measure in circumference more than double their usual size; and, in short, the experience of the oldest seaman among us had never met with any thing like the continued showers of sleet, and the extreme cold which we now encountered. Indeed, the severity of the weather, added to the great difficulty of working the ships, and the labour of keeping the pumps constantly going, rendered the service too hard for many of the crew, some of whom were frost-bitten, and others laid up with bad colds. We continued all this time standing four hours on each tack, having generally soundings of sixty fathoms, when about three leagues from the land, but none at twice that distance. On the 25th we had a transient view of the entrance of Awatska Bay; but, in the present state of the weather, we were afraid of venturing into it. Upon our standing off again we lost sight of the Discovery; but, as we were now so near the place of rendezvous, this gave us no great uneasiness.

On the 28th in the morning, the weather at last cleared, and the wind fell to a light breeze from the same quarter as before. We had a fine warm day; and, as we now began to expect a thaw, the men were employed in breaking the ice from off the rigging, masts, and sails, in order to prevent its falling on our heads. At noon, being in the latitude of 52° 44′, and the longitude of 159°, the entrance of Awatska Bay bore N.W., distant three or four leagues; and, about three in the afternoon, a fair wind sprung up from the southward, with which we stood in, having regular soundings, from twenty-two to seven fathoms.

The mouth of the bay opens in a N.N.W. direction. The land, on the south side, is of a moderate height; to the northward it rises into a bluff head, which is the highest part of the coast. In the channel between them, near the N.E. side, lie three remarkable rocks; and farther in, near the opposite coast, a single detached rock of a considerable size. On the north head there is a look-out house, which, when the Russians expect any of their ships upon the

the coast, is used as a light-house. There was a flag-staff on it, but we saw no sign of any person being there.

Having passed the mouth of the bay, which is about four miles long, we opened a large circular bason of twenty-five miles in circumference; and, at half past four, came to an anchor in six fathoms water, being afraid of running foul on a shoal, or some sunk rocks, which are said by Muller[a] to lie in the channel of the harbour of St Peter and St Paul. The middle of the bay was full of loose ice, drifting with the tide; but the shores were still entirely blocked up with it. Great flocks of wild-fowl were seen of various species; likewise ravens, eagles, and large flights of Greenland pigeons. We examined every corner of the bay with our glasses, in search of the town of St Peter and St Paul; which, according to the accounts given us at Oonalashka, we had conceived to be a place of some strength and consideration. At length we discovered on a narrow point of land to the N.N.E., a few miserable log-houses, and some conical huts, raised on poles, amounting in all to about thirty; which, from their situation, notwithstanding all the respect we wished to entertain for a Russian *ostrog*, we were under the necessity of concluding to be Petropaulowska. However, in justice to the generous and hospitable treatment we found here, I shall beg leave to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved to be more of a laughable than a serious nature. For, in this wretched extremity of the earth, situated beyond every thing that we conceived to be most barbarous and inhospitable, and, as it were, out of the very reach of civilization, barricadoed with ice, and covered with summer snow, in a poor miserable port, far inferior to the meanest of our fishing towns, we met with feelings of humanity, joined to a greatness of mind, and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any nation or climate.

During the night much ice drifted by us with the tide, and at day-light I was sent with the boats to examine the bay, and deliver the letters we had brought from Oonalashka to the Russian commander. We directed our course toward the village I have just mentioned, and having proceeded as far as we were able with the boats, we got upon the

[a] Voyages made by the Russians from Asia to America, &c., translated from the German, by T. Jeffereys, p. 37.

the ice, which extended near half a mile from the shore. Mr Webber, and two of the seamen, accompanied me, whilst the master took the pinnace and cutter to finish the survey, leaving the jolly-boat behind to carry us back.

I believe the inhabitants had not yet seen either the ship or the boats; for even after we had got on the ice, we could not perceive any signs of a living creature in the town. By the time we had advanced a little way on the ice, we observed a few men hurrying backward and forward, and presently after a sledge drawn by dogs, with one of the inhabitants in it, came down to the sea-side, opposite to us. Whilst we were gazing at this unusual sight, and admiring the great civility of this stranger, which we imagined had brought him to our assistance, the man, after viewing us for some time very attentively, turned short round, and went off with great speed toward the *ostrog*. We were not less chagrined than disappointed at his abrupt departure, as we began to find our journey over the ice attended not only with great difficulty, but even with danger. We sunk at every step almost knee-deep in the snow, and though we found tolerable footing at the bottom, yet the weak parts of the ice not being discoverable, we were constantly exposed to the risk of breaking through it. This accident at last actually happened to myself; for, stepping on quickly over a suspicious spot, in order to press with less weight upon it, I came upon a second, before I could stop myself, which broke under me, and in I fell. Luckily I rose clear of the ice, and a man that was a little way behind with a boat-hook, throwing it to me, I laid it across some loose pieces near me, and by that means was enabled to get upon firm ice again.

As we approached the shore, we found the ice, contrary to our expectations, more broken than it had been before. We were, however, again comforted by the sight of another sledge coming toward us; but instead of proceeding to our relief, the driver stopt short, and began to call out to us. I immediately held up to him Ismyloff's letters; upon which he turned about, and set off back again full speed; followed, I believe, not with the prayers of any of our party. Being at a great loss what conclusions to draw from this unaccountable behaviour, we continued our march toward the *ostrog*, with great circumspection, and when we had arrived within a quarter of a mile of it, we perceived a

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body of armed men marching toward us. That we might give them as little alarm, and have as peaceable an appearance as possible, the two men who had boat-hooks in their hands, were ordered into the rear, and Mr Webber and myself marched in front. The Russian party, consisting of about thirty soldiers, was headed by a decent-looking person with a cane in his hand. He halted within a few yards of us, and drew up his men in a martial and good order. I delivered to him Ismyloff's letters, and endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could (though I afterward found in vain), that we were English, and had brought the papers from Oonalashka. After having examined us attentively, he began to conduct us toward the village, in great silence and solemnity, frequently halting his men, to form them in different manners, and make them perform several parts of their manual exercise, probably with a view to shew us, that if we had the temerity to offer any violence, we should have to deal with men who were not ignorant of their business.

Though I was all this time in my wet clothes, shivering with cold, and sufficiently inclined to the most unconditional submission, without having my fears violently alarmed, yet it was impossible not to be diverted with this military parade, notwithstanding it was attended with the most unseasonable delay. At length we arrived at the house of the commanding-officer of the party, into which we were ushered; and after no small stir in giving orders, and disposing of the military without doors, our host made his appearance, accompanied by another person, whom we understood to be the secretary of the port. One of Ismyloff's letters was now opened, and the other sent off by a special messenger to Bolcheretsk, a town on the west side of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, where the Russian commander of this province usually resides.

It is very remarkable, that they had not seen the ship the preceding day, when we came to anchor in the bay, nor indeed this morning, till our boats were pretty near the ice. The panic with which the discovery had struck them, we found had been very considerable. The garrison was immediately put under arms. Two small field-pieces were placed at the entrance of the commander's house, and pointed toward our boats; and shot, powder, and lighted matches, were all ready at hand.

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The officer, in whose house we were at present entertained, was a serjeant, and the commander of the *ostrog*. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour, after he recovered from the alarm occasioned by our arrival. We found the house insufferably hot, but exceedingly neat and clean. After I had changed my clothes, which the serjeant's civility enabled me to do, by furnishing me with a complete suit of his own, we were invited to sit down to dinner, which I have no doubt was the best he could procure; and, considering the shortness of time he had to provide it, was managed with some ingenuity. As there was not time to prepare soup and *bouilli*, we had in their stead some cold beef, sliced, with hot water poured over it. We had next a large bird roasted, of a species with which I was unacquainted, but of a very excellent taste. After having eaten a part of this, it was taken off, and we were served with fish dressed two different ways; and soon after the bird again made its appearance, in savory and sweet *pates*. Our liquor, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was of the kind called by the Russians *quass*, and was much the worst part of the entertainment. The serjeant's wife brought in several of the dishes herself, and was not permitted to sit down at table. Having finished our repast, during which it is hardly necessary to remark, that our conversation was confined to a few bows, and other signs of mutual respect, we endeavoured to open to our host the cause and objects of our visit to this port. As Ismyloff had probably written to them on the same subject, in the letters we had before delivered, he appeared very readily to conceive our meaning; but as there was unfortunately no one in the place that could talk any other language except Russian or Kamtschadale, we found the utmost difficulty in comprehending the information he meant to convey to us. After some time spent in these endeavours to understand one another, we conceived the sum of the intelligence we had procured to be, that though no supply, either of provisions or naval stores, was to be had at this place, yet that these articles were in great plenty at Bolcheretsk; that the commander would most probably be very willing to give us what we wanted; but that till the serjeant had received orders from him, neither he nor his people, nor the natives, could even venture to go on board the ship.

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It was now time for us to take our leave; and, as my clothes were still too wet to put on, I was obliged to have recourse again to the serjeant's benevolence, for his leave to carry those I had borrowed of him on board. This request was complied with very cheerfully; and a sledge, drawn by five dogs, with a driver, was immediately provided for each of our party. The sailors were highly delighted with this mode of conveyance; and what diverted them still more was, that the two boat-hooks had also a sledge appropriated to themselves. These sledges are so light, and their construction so well adapted to the purposes for which they are intended, that they went with great expedition, and perfect safety, over the ice, which it would have been impossible for us, with all our caution, to have passed on foot.

On our return, we found the boats towing the ship toward the village; and at seven we got close to the ice, and moored with the small bower to the N.E., and best bower to the S.W.; the entrance of the bay bearing S. by E., and S. ¾ E.; and the *ostrog* N., ¼ E., distant one mile and a half. The next morning the casks and cables were got upon the quarter-deck, in order to lighten the ship forward; and the carpenters were set to work to stop the leak, which had given us so much trouble during our last run. It was found to have been occasioned by the falling of some sheathing from the larboard-bow, and the oakum between the planks having been washed out. The warm weather we had in the middle of the day, began to make the ice break away very fast, which, drifting with the tide, had almost filled up the entrance of the bay. Several of our gentlemen paid their visits to the serjeant, by whom they were received with great civility; and Captain Clerke sent him two bottles of rum, which he understood would be the most acceptable present he could make him, and received in return some fine fowls of the grouse kind, and twenty trouts. Our sportsmen met with but bad success; for though the bay swarmed with flocks of ducks of various kinds, and Greenland pigeons, yet they were so shy that they could not come within shot of them.

In the morning of the 1st of May, seeing the Discovery standing into the bay, a boat was immediately sent to her assistance; and in the afternoon she moored close by us. They told us, that after the weather cleared up on the

28th,

28th, they found themselves to leeward of the bay; and that when they got abreast of it the following day, and saw the entrance choked up with ice, they stood off, after firing guns, concluding we could not be here; but finding afterward it was only loose drift ice, they had ventured in. The next day the weather was so very unsettled, attended with heavy showers of snow, that the carpenters were not able to proceed in their work. The thermometer stood at 28° in the evening, and the frost was exceedingly severe in the night.

The following morning, on our observing two sledges drive into the village, Captain Clerke sent me on shore, to enquire whether any message was arrived from the commander of Kamtschatka, which, according to the serjeant's account, might now be expected, in consequence of the intelligence that had been sent of our arrival. Bolcheretsk, by the usual route, is about one hundred and thirty-five English miles from Saint Peter and Saint Paul's. Our dispatches were sent off in a sledge drawn by dogs, on the 29th, about noon. And the answer arrived, as we afterward found, early this morning; so that they were only a little more than three days and a half in performing a journey of two hundred and seventy miles.

The return of the commander's answer was, however, concealed from us for the present; and I was told, on my arrival at the serjeant's, that we should hear from him the next day. Whilst I was on shore, the boat which had brought me, together with another belonging to the Discovery, were set fast in the ice, which a southerly wind had driven from the other side of the bay. On seeing them entangled, the Discovery's launch had been sent to their assistance, but shared the same fate; and in a short time the ice had surrounded them near a quarter of a mile deep. This obliged us to stay on shore till evening, when, finding no prospect of getting the boats off, some of us went in sledges to the edge of the ice, and were taken off by boats sent from the ship, and the rest staid on shore all night.

It continued to freeze hard during the night; but before morning, on the 4th, a change of wind drifted away the floating ice, and set the boats at liberty, without their having sustained the smallest damage.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon, we saw several sledges driving down to the edge of the ice, and sent a boat to conduct

conduct the persons who were in them on board. One of these was a Russian merchant, from Bolcheretsk, named Fedositch, and the other a German, called Port, who had brought a letter from Major Behm, the commander of Kamtschatka, to Captain Clerke. When they got to the edge of the ice, and saw distinctly the size of the ships, which lay within about two hundred yards from them, they appeared to be exceedingly alarmed; and, before they would venture to embark, desired two of our boat's crew might be left on shore as hostages for their safety. We afterward found, that Ismyloff, in his letter to the commander, had misrepresented us, for what reasons we could not conceive, as two small trading boats; and that the serjeant, who had only seen the ships at a distauce, had not in his dispatches rectified the mistake.

When they arrived on board, we still found, from their cautious and timorous behaviour, that they were under some unaccountable apprehensions; and an uncommon degree of satisfaction was visible in their countenances, on the German's finding a person amongst us with whom he could converse. This was Mr Webber, who spoke that language perfectly well; and at last, though with some difficulty, convinced them that we were Englishmen and friends. Mr Port, being introduced to Captain Clerke, delivered to him the commander's letter, which was written in German, and was merely complimental, inviting him and his officers to Bolcheretsk, to which place the people who brought it were to conduct us. Mr Port, at the same time acquainted him, that the major had conceived a very wrong idea of the size of the ships, and of the service we were engaged in; Ismyloff, in his letter, having represented us as two small English packet boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard; insinuating, that he suspected us to be no better than pirates. In consequence of this letter, he said there had been various conjectures formed about us at Bolcheretsk; that the major thought it most probable we were on a trading scheme, and for that reason had sent down a merchant to us; but that the officer, who was second in command, was of opinion we were French, and come with some hostile intention, and was for taking measures accordingly. It had required, he added, all the major's authority to keep the inhabitants from leaving the town, and retiring up into the country, to so extraordina-

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ry a pitch had their fears risen from their persuasion that we were French.

Their extreme apprehensions of that nation were principally occasioned by some circumstances attending an insurrection that had happened at Bolcheretsk, a few years before, in which the commander had lost his life. We were informed, that an exiled Polish officer, named Beniowski, taking advantage of the confusion into which the town was thrown, had seized upon a galliot, then lying at the entrance of the Bolchoireka, and had forced on board a number of Russian sailors, sufficient to navigate her; that he had put on shore a part of the crew at the Kourile Islands, and among the rest, Ismyloff, who, as the reader will recollect, had puzzled us exceedingly at Oonalashka, with the history of this transaction; though, for want of understanding his language, we could not then make out all the circumstances attending it; that he passed in sight of Japan; made Luconia; and was there directed how to steer to Canton; that arriving there, he had applied to the French, and had got a passage in one of their India ships to France; and that most of the Russians had likewise returned to Europe in French ships, and had afterward found their way to Petersburg. We met with three of Beniowski's crew in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and from them we learnt the circumstances of the above story.

On our arrival at Canton, we received a farther corroboration of the facts from the gentlemen of the English factory; who told us, that a person had arrived there in a Russian galliot, who said he came from Kamtschatka, and that he had been furnished by the French factory with a passage to Europe.[3]

We could not help being much diverted with the fears and apprehensions of these good people, and particularly with the account Mr Port gave us of the serjeant's wary proceedings the day before. On seeing me come on shore, in company with some other gentlemen, he had made him and the merchant, who arrived in the sledges we had seen come in the morning, hide themselves in his kitchen, and listen to our conversation with one another, in hopes that

[3] It hath since appeared, from the Account of Kerguelen's Voyage, that this extraordinary person, who had entered into the French service, was commander of a new settlement at Madagascar, when Kerguelen touched there in 1774.

by this means they might discover whether we were really English or not.

As we concluded, from the commission and dress of Mr Port, that he might probably be the commander's secretary, he was received as such, and invited, with his companion, the merchant, to dine with Captain Clerke; and though we soon began to suspect, from the behaviour of the latter toward him, that he was only a common servant, yet this being no time to sacrifice our little comforts to our pride, we prevented an explanation, by not suffering the question to be put to him; and, in return for the satisfaction we reaped from his abilities as a linguist, we continued to let him live on a footing of equality with us.

## Section II.

*Scarcity of Provisions and Stores at the Harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.—A Party set out to visit the Commander at Bolcheretsk.—Passage up the River Awatska.—Account of their Reception by the Toïon of Karatchin.—Description of a Kamtschadale Dress.—Journey on Sledges.—Description of this Mode of Travelling.—Arrival at Natcheekin.—Account of Hot Springs.—Embark on the Bolchoireka.—Reception at the Capital.—Generous and hospitable Conduct of the Commander and the Garrison.—Description of Bolcheretsk.—Presents from the Commander.—Russian and Kamtschadale Dancing.—Affecting Departure from Bolcheretsk.—Return to Saint Peter and Saint Paul's, accompanied by Major Behm, who visits the Ships.—Generosity of the Sailors.—Dispatches sent by Major Behm to Petersburg.—His Departure, and Character.*

Being now enabled to converse with the Russians, by the aid of our interpreter, with tolerable facility, our first enquiries were directed to the means of procuring a supply of fresh provisions and naval stores; from the want of which latter article, in particular, we had been for some time in great distress. On enquiry, it appeared, that the whole stock of live cattle, which the country about the bay could furnish, amounted only to two heifers; and these the serjeant very readily promised to procure us. Our applications were next made to the merchant, but we found the terms

terms upon which he offered to serve us so exorbitant, that Captain Clerke thought it necessary to send an officer to visit the commander at Bolcheretsk, and to enquire into the price of stores at that place. As soon as this determination was communicated to Mr Port, he dispatched an express to the commander to inform him of our intentions, and at the same time to clear us from the suspicions that were entertained with respect to the designation and purposes of our voyage.

Captain Clerke having thought proper to fix on me for this service, I received orders, together with Mr Webber, who was to accompany me as interpreter, to be ready to set out the next day. It proved, however, too stormy, as did also the 6th, for beginning a journey through so wild and desolate a country; but on the 7th, the weather appearing more favourable, we set out early in the morning in the ship's boats, with a view to reach the entrance of the Awatska at high water, on account of the shoals with which the mouth of that river abounds; here the country boats were to meet us, and carry us up the stream.

Captain Gore was now added to our party, and we were attended by Messrs Port and Fedositsch, with two cossacks, and were provided by our conductors with warm furred clothing; a precaution which we soon found very necessary, as it began to snow briskly just after we set out. At eight o'clock, being stopped by shoal water, about a mile from the mouth of the river, some small canoes, belonging to the Kamtschadales, took up us and our baggage, and carried us over a spit of sand, which is thrown up by the rapidity of the river, and which they told us was continually shifting. When we had crossed this shoal, the water again deepened; and here we found a commodious boat, built and shaped like a Norway yawl, ready to convey us up the river, together with canoes for our baggage.

The mouth of the Awatska is about a quarter of a mile broad, and, as we advanced, it narrowed very gradually. After we had proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches, which, we were told, emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those on the left hand flowed into the Paratounca river. Its general direction from the bay, for the first ten miles, is to the north, after which it turns to the westward; this bend excepted, it preserves for the most part a straight course; and the country

country through which it flows, to the distance of near thirty miles from the sea, is low and flat, and subject to frequent inundations. We were pushed forward by six men, with long poles, three at each end of the boat, two of whom were cossacks, the others Kamtschadales, and advanced against a strong stream, at the rate, as well as I could judge, of about three miles an hour. Our Kamtshadales bore this severe labour with great stoutness for ten hours, during which we stopped only once, and that for a short time, whilst they took some little refreshment. As we had been told, at our first setting out in the morning, that we should easily reach an *ostrog*, called Karatchin, the same night, we were much disappointed to find ourselves, at sunset, fifteen miles from that place. This we attributed to the delay occasioned in passing the shoals we had met with, both at the entrance of the river, and in several other places as we proceeded up it; for our boat being the first that had passed up the river, the guides were not acquainted with the situation of the shifting sand-banks, and unfortunately the snow not having yet begun to melt, the shallowness of the river was at its extreme.

The fatigue our men had already undergone, and the difficulty of navigating the river, which would have been much increased by the darkness of the night, obliged us to give up all thoughts of continuing our journey that evening. Having therefore found a place tolerably sheltered, and cleared it of the snow, we erected a small *marquée*, which we had brought with us; and, by the assistance of a brisk fire, and some good punch, passed the night not very unpleasantly. The only inconvenience we laboured under was, the being obliged to make the fire at some distance from us. For, although the ground was to all appearance dry enough before, yet when the fire was alighted, it soon thawed all the parts round it into an absolute puddle. We admired much the alertness and expedition with which the Kamtschadales erected our *marquée*, and cooked our provisions; but what was most unexpected, we found they had brought with them their tea-kettles; considering it as the greatest of hardships not to drink tea two or three times a day.

We set out as soon as it was light in the morning, and had not advanced far, before we were met by the *Toion*, or chief of Karatchin, who had been apprised of our coming, and

and had provided canoes that were lighter, and better contrived for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, consisting of two canoes, lashed close together with cross spars, lined with bear-skins, and furnished with fur-cloaks, was also provided for us. We now went on very rapidly, the *Toion's* people being both stout and fresh, and remarkable for their expertness in this business. At ten we got to the *ostrog*, the seat of his command, where we were received at the water-side by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to Fedositsch, who were employed in making canoes. They were all dressed out in their best clothes. Those of the women were pretty and gay, consisting of a full loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a collar of coloured silk. Over this they wore a short jacket without sleeves, made of different-coloured nankeens, and petticoats of a slight Chinese silk. Their shirts, which had sleeves down to the wrist, were also of silk; and coloured silk handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, concealing entirely the hair of the married women, whilst those who were unmarried brought the handkerchief under the hair, and suffered it to flow loose behind.

This *ostrog* was pleasantly situated by the side of the river, and consisted of three log-houses, three *jourts*, or houses made under ground, and nineteen *balagans*, or summer habitations. We were conducted to the tent of the *Toion*, who was a plain decent man, born of a Russian woman, by a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all the rest in this country, was divided into two apartments. A long narrow table, with a bench round it, was all the furniture we saw in the outer; and the household stuff of the inner, which was the kitchen, was not less simple and scanty. But the kind attention of our host, and the hearty welcome we received, more than compensated for the poverty of his lodgings.

His wife proved an excellent cook, and served us with fish and game of different sorts, and various kinds of heath-berries, that had been kept since the last year. Whilst we were at dinner in this miserable hut, the guests of a people, with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted

tracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word *London.* I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such trifling incidents can give. To the philosopher and politician they may perhaps suggest reflections of a different nature.[1]

We were now to quit the river, and perform the next part of our journey on sledges; but the thaw had been too powerful in the day-time to allow us to set out till the cold of the evening had again made the surface of the snow hard and firm. This gave us an opportunity of walking about the village, which was the only place we had yet seen free from snow since we landed in this country. It stood upon a well-wooded flat, about a mile and a half in circumference. The leaves were just budding, and the verdure of the whole scene was strongly contrasted with the sides of the surrounding hills, which were still covered with snow. As the soil appeared to me very capable of producing all the common sorts of garden vegetables, I was greatly surprised not to find the smallest spot any where cultivated. If to this we add, that none of the inhabitants were possessed of cattle of any sort, nothing can be well conceived more wretched than their situation must be during the winter months.[2] They were at this time removing from their *jourts* into their *balagans*, which afforded us an opportunity of examining both these sorts of habitations; and they will be hereafter more particularly described. The people invited us into their houses with great good

[1] Mr Dugald Stewart has not neglected to avail himself of this incident, to illustrate his observations on the power which certain perceptions or impressions on the senses possess to awaken associations.—E.

[2] Even so lately as Captain Krusenstern's visit, the number of horned cattle at Saint Peter and Saint Paul's amounted to no more than ten cows and as many young heifers; of course, he remarks, there was no butter, and very little milk. But it is his opinion, that it would be extremely easy to support some hundred head there, as the place abounds in the finest grass. Elsewhere he informs us, that it is calculated there are about six hundred cattle in the whole of Kamtschatka; a number which, for obvious reasons, he thinks may and ought to be increased.—E.

good humour; a general air of cheerfulness and content was every where visible, to which the approaching change of season might probably not a little contribute.

On our return to the *Toion's*, we found supper prepared for us, which differed in nothing from our former repast; and concluded with our treating the *Toion* and his wife with some of the spirits we had brought with us, made into punch. Captain Gore, who had great generosity on all occasions, having afterward made them some valuable presents, they retired to the kitchen, leaving us in possession of the outward room, where, spreading our bear-skins on the benches, we were glad to get a little repose, having settled with our conductors to resume our journey as soon as the ground should be judged fit for travelling.

About nine o'clock the same evening we were awakened by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges; but as soon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to set out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which entirely ceased the instant they marched off. But before we set out, the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

The body of the sledge is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, strongly bound together with wicker-work; which, in those belonging to the better sort of people, is elegantly stained of a red and blue colour, and the seat covered with bear-skins, or other furs. It is supported by four legs, about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. These are turned up before in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone of some sea-animal. The fore-part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and tassels of coloured cloth; and from the cross-bar, to which the harness is joined, are hung links of iron, or small bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are seldom used to carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries, wrapped up in a bundle, behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins, not being fastened to the head of the dogs, but

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to the collars, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon the sledge, whilst the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention; some of them rising to a most extraordinary value on account of their docility and steadiness; insomuch, that for one of these, I am well assured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unusual price. The driver is also provided with a crooked stick, which answers the purpose both of whip and reins; as, by striking it into the snow, he is enabled to moderate the speed of the dogs, or even to stop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwise inattentive to his voice, he chastises them by throwing it at them. Upon these occasions their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not surprising that they should labour to be skilful in a practice upon which their safety so materially depends. For they say, that if the driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs will instantly perceive it; and unless their leader be of the most sober and resolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full speed, and never stop till they are quite spent. But as that will not be the case soon, it generally happens that either the carriage is overturned, and dashed to pieces against the trees, or they hurry down some precipice, and are all buried in the snow. The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority. We were indeed ourselves witnesses of the great expedition with which the messenger, who had been dispatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, though the snow was at this time exceedingly soft. But I was informed, by the commander of Kamtschatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half; and that he had once received an express from the latter place in twenty-three hours.

The dogs are fed, during the winter, on the offals of dried and stinking fish; but are always deprived of this miserable food a day before they set out on a journey, and never suffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were also told, that it was not unusual for them to continue

nue thus fasting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles.[3] These dogs are in shape somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger.

As we did not choose to trust to our own skill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a very laborious business. For, as the thaw had advanced very considerably in the vallies, through which our road lay, we were under the necessity of keeping along the sides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with snow-shoes for that purpose, to support the sledges, on the lower side, with their shoulders, for several miles together. I had a very good-humoured cossack to attend me, who was, however, so very unskilful in his business, that we were overturned almost every minute, to the great entertainment of the rest of the company. Our party consisted in all of ten sledges. That in which Captain Gore was carried, was made of two lashed together, and abundantly provided with furs and bear-skins; it had ten dogs, yoked four a-breast; as had also some of those that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles it began to rain; which, added to the darkness of the night, threw us all into confusion. It was at last agreed, that we should remain where we were till day-light; and accordingly we came to anchor in the snow, (for I cannot better express the manner in which the sledges were secured,) and wrapping ourselves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to set out, our guides being apprehensive, that if we waited longer we might be stopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed

[3] Extraordinary as this may appear, Krascheninikoff, whose account of Kamtschatka, from every thing that I saw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, seems to me to deserve entire credit, and whose authority I shall, therefore, frequently have recourse to, relates instances of this kind that are much more surprising. "Travelling parties," says he, "are often overtaken with dreadful storms of snow, on the approach of which they drive with the utmost precipitation into the nearest wood, and there are obliged to stay till the tempest, which frequently lasts six or seven days, is over; the dogs remaining all this while quiet and inoffensive; except that sometimes, when prest by hunger, they will devour the reins and the other leathern parts of the harness."—*History and Description of Kamtschatka, by Krascheninikoff.*

ceed nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occasioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon we got safe to an *ostrog,* called Natcheekin, situated on the side of a small stream which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The distance between Karatchin and Natcheekin is thirty-eight wersts (or twenty-five miles;) and had the hard frost continued, we should not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the snow was so soft, that the dogs, almost at every step, sunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much surprised at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of so fatiguing a journey.

Natcheekin is a very inconsiderable *ostrog,* having only one log-house, the residence of the *Toion;* five *balagans,* and one *jourt.* We were received here with the same formalities, and in the same hospitable manner, as at Karatchin; and in the afternoon we went to visit a remarkable hot-spring, which is near this village. We saw at some distance the steam rising from it as from a boiling cauldron; and as we approached, perceived the air had a strong sulphureous smell. The main spring forms a bason of about three feet in diameter; besides which there are a number of lesser springs, of the same degree of heat, in the adjacent ground; so that the whole spot, to the extent of near an acre, was so hot, that we could not stand two minutes in the same place. The water flowing from these springs is collected in a small bathing pond, and afterwards forms a little rivulet, which, at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards, falls into the river. The bath, they told us, had wrought great cures in several disorders, such as rheumatisms, swelled and contracted joints, and scorbutic ulcers. In the bathing place the thermometer stood at 100°, or blood heat; but in the spring, after being immersed two minutes, it was 1° above boiling spirits. The thermometer in the air, at this time was 34°; in the river 40°; and in the *Toion's* house 64°. The ground where these springs break out is on a gentle ascent; behind which there is a green hill of a moderate size. I am sorry I was not sufficiently skilled in botany to examine the plants, which seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance; the wild garlic, indeed, forced itself on our notice, and was at this time springing up very vigorously.

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The next morning we embarked on the Bolchoireka in canoes; and having the stream with us, expected to be at our journey's end the day following. The town of Bolcheretsk is about eighty miles from Natcheekin; and we were informed, that, in the summer season, when the river has been full and rapid, from the melting of snow on the mountains, the canoes had often gone down in a single day; but that, in its present state, we should probably be much longer, as the ice had broken up only three days before we arrived; and that ours would be the first boat that had attempted to pass. This intelligence proved but too true. We found ourselves greatly impeded by the shallows; and though the stream in many places ran with great rapidity, yet in every half mile we had ripplings and shoals, over which we had to haul the boats.[4] The country on each side was very romantic, but unvaried; the river running between mountains of the most craggy and barren aspect, where there was nothing to diversify the scene but now and then the sight of a bear, and the flights of wild fowl. So uninteresting a passage leaves me nothing farther to say, than that this, and the following night, we slept on the banks of the river, under our *marquée*, and suffered very much from the severity of the weather, and the snow, which still remained on the ground.

At day-light, on the 12th, we found we had got clear of the mountains, and were entering a low extensive plain, covered with shrubby trees. About nine in the forenoon, we arrived at an *ostrog*, called Opatchin, which is computed to be fifty miles from Natcheekin, and is nearly of the same size as Karatchin. We found here a serjeant, with four Russian soldiers, who had been two days waiting for our arrival, and who immediately dispatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk, with intelligence of our approach. We were now put into the trammels of formality; a canoe, furnished



[4] Captain King does not seem to have heard or inferred any thing as to the danger usually encountered in the summer excursions on the river, from the nature of the vessels employed. This, according to Krusenstern, infinitely more resembles a trough than a boat, being, in fact, the hollow trunk of a tree, and exceedingly apt to be upset by the rapidity of the stream. Thus, he says, scarcely a year passes in which several people are not drowned, both in the Kamtschatka river and the Awatscha; a serious loss any where, no doubt; but in this country, where population is so scanty, and so uncertain, incomparably more important in a political point of view.—E.

nished with skins and furs, and equipped in a magnificent manner, was prepared for our reception, in which we were accommodated much at our ease, but to the exclusion of the rest of our fellow-travellers. It was with much regret we found ourselves obliged to separate from our old companion Monsieur Port, whom we had observed to grow every day more shy and distant as we drew nearer the end of our journey. Indeed, he had himself told us, before we set out, that we paid him a respect he had no title to; but as we had found him a very modest and discreet man, we had insisted on his living with us during the whole of our journey. The remainder of our passage was performed with great facility and expedition, the river growing more rapid as we descended, and less obstructed by shoals.

As we approached the capital, we were sorry to observe, from an appearance of much stir and bustle, that we were to be received in form. Decent clothes had been for some time a scarce commodity amongst us; and our travelling dresses were made up of a burlesque mixture of European, Indian, and Kamtschadale fashions. We therefore thought it would be too ridiculous to make a parade in this trim through the metropolis of Kamtschatka; and, as we saw a crowd collected on the banks of the river, and were told the commander would be at the water-side to receive us, we stopped short, at a soldier's house, about a quarter of a mile from the town, from whence we sent Port, with a message to his excellency, acquainting him, that the moment we had put off our travelling dresses, we would pay our respects to him at his own house; and to beg he would not think of waiting to conduct us. Finding, however, that he persisted in his intentions of paying us this compliment, we lost no farther time in attiring ourselves, but made all the haste in our power to join him at the entrance of the town. I observed my companions to be as awkward as I felt myself in making our first salutations; bowing and scraping being marks of good breeding, that we had now, for two years and a half, been totally unaccustomed to. The manner in which we were received by the commander, was the most engaging that could be conceived, and increased my mortification at finding that he had almost entirely forgot the French language; so that the satisfaction of conversing with him was wholly confined to Mr Webber, who spoke the German, his native tongue.

In

In company with Major Behm was Captain Shmaleff, the second in command, and another officer, with the whole body of the merchants of the place. They conducted us to the commander's house, where we were received by his lady with great civility, and found tea and other refreshments prepared for us. After the first compliments were over, Mr Webber was desired to acquaint the major with the object of our journey, with our want of naval stores, flour, and fresh provisions, and other necessaries for the ship's crews, and at the same time to assure him, that we were sensible, from what we had already seen of the condition of the country about Awatska Bay, we could not expect much assistance from him in that quarter; that the impossibility of sending heavy stores across the peninsula during the present season of the year, was but too apparent, from the difficulties we had met with in our journey; and that, long before any material change could take place, we should be under the necessity of proceeding on our voyage. We were here interrupted by the commander, who observed, that we did not yet know what they were capable of doing; that, at least, it was not his business to think of the difficulties of supplying our wants, but only to learn what were the articles we stood in need of, and the longest time we could allow him for procuring them. After expressing our sense of his obliging disposition, we gave him a list of our naval stores, the number of cattle, and the quantity of flour we were directed to purchase, and told him that we purposed recommencing our voyage about the 5th of June.

Our conversation afterward turned upon different subjects; and it will naturally be supposed that our enquiries were principally directed to the obtaining some information respecting our own country. Having now been absent three years, we had flattered ourselves with the certainty of receiving intelligence from Major Behm, which could not fail of being interesting; and I cannot express the disappointment we felt, on finding that he had no news to communicate of a much later date than that of our departure from England.

About seven o'clock the commander, conceiving we might be fatigued with our journey, and desirous of taking some repose, begged he might conduct us to our lodgings. It was in vain that we protested against a compliment which we had certainly no title to expect, but that of being

strangers;

strangers; a circumstance which seemed, in the opinion of this generous Livonian, to counterbalance every other consideration. In our way we passed by two guard-houses, where the men were turned out under arms, in compliment to Captain Gore; and were afterward brought to a very neat and decent house, which the major gave us to understand was to be our residence during our stay. Two sentinels were posted at the doors, and, in a house adjoining, there was a serjeant's guard. Having shewn us into our apartments, the major took his leave, with a promise to see us the next day; and we were left to find out at our leisure all the conveniences that he had most amply provided for us. A soldier, called a *putpropersckack*, whose rank is between that of a serjeant and a corporal, along with our fellow-traveller Port, were appointed to be our male domestics; besides whom, there was a housekeeper and a cook, who had orders to obey Port's directions in dressing us a supper according to our own mode of cookery. We received many civil messages in the course of the evening from the principal people of the town, purporting, that they would not add to our fatigues by paying their respects to us at that time, but would wait on us in the morning. Such well-supported politeness and attention, in a country so desolate and uncultivated, formed a contrast exceedingly favourable to its inhabitants; and, to finish the piece as it began, at sun-set the serjeant came with the report of his guard to Captain Gore.

Early in the morning we received the compliments of the commander, of Captain Shmaleff, and of the principal inhabitants of the town, who all honoured us with visits soon after. The two first, having sent for Port, after we were gone to rest, and enquired of him what articles we seemed to be most in want of on board the ships, we found them prepared to insist on our sharing with the garrison under their command, in what little stock of provisions they had remaining. At the same time they lamented that we had arrived at a season of the year, when there was always the greatest scarcity of every thing amongst them, the sloops not being yet arrived, with their annual supply, from Okotsk.

We agreed to accept the liberality of these hospitable strangers, with the best grace we could; but on condition that we might be made acquainted with the price of the articles

articles we were to be supplied with, and that Captain Clerke should give bills to the amount upon the Victualling Office in London. This the major positively refused; and whenever it was afterwards urged, stopped us short, by telling us, he was certain that he could not oblige his mistress more than in giving every assistance in his power to her good friends and allies the English; and that it would be a particular satisfaction to her to hear, that, in so remote a part of the world, her dominions had afforded any relief to ships engaged in such services as ours; that he could not therefore act so contrary to the character of his empress as to accept of any bills; but that to accommodate the matter, he would take a bare attestation of the particulars with which we might be furnished, and that this he should transmit to his court, as a certificate of having performed his duty. I shall leave, he continued, to the two courts all farther acknowledgments, but cannot consent to accept of any thing of the kind alluded to.

When this matter was adjusted, he began to enquire about our private wants, saying, he should consider himself as ill used if we had any dealings with the merchants, or applied to any other person except himself.

In return for such singular generosity, we had little to bestow but our admiration and our thanks. Fortunately, however, Captain Clerke had sent by me a set of prints and maps, belonging to the last voyage of Captain Cook, which he desired me to present in his name to the commander; who being an enthusiast in every thing relating to discoveries, received it with a satisfaction which shewed, that, though a trifle, nothing could have been more acceptable. Captain Clerke had likewise entrusted me with a discretionary power of shewing him a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage; and as I judged that a person in his situation, and of his turn of mind, would be exceedingly gratified by a communication of this sort, though, out of delicacy, he had forborn to ask more than a a few general questions on the subject, I made no scruple to repose in him a confidence, of which his whole conduct shewed him to be deserving.

I had the pleasure to find, that he felt this compliment as I hoped he would, and was much struck at seeing, in one view, the whole of that coast, as well on the side of Asia as on that of America, of which his countrymen had been so many

many years employed in acquiring a partial and imperfect knowledge.[5]

Excepting this mark of confidence, and the set of prints I have already mentioned, we had brought nothing with us that was in the least worth his acceptance; for it scarce deserves noticing, that I prevailed on his son, a young boy, to accept of a silver watch I happened to have about me; and I made his little daughter very happy with two pair of ear-rings of French paste. Besides these trifles, I left with Captain Shmaleff the thermometer I used on my journey; and he promised me, to keep an exact register of the temperature of the air for one year, and to transmit it to Mr Muller, with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted.

We dined this day at the commander's, who, studious on every occasion to gratify our curiosity, had, besides a number of dishes dressed in our own way, prepared a great variety of others, after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner. The afternoon was employed in taking a view of the town and the adjacent country. Bolcheretsk is situated in a low swampy plain, that extends to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles long, and of a considerable breadth. It lies on the north side of the Bolchoireka, or great river, between the mouth of the Gottsofka and the Bistraia, which here empty themselves into this river; and the peninsula, on which it stands, has been separated from the continent by a large canal, the work of the present commander; which has not only added much to its strength as a fortress, but has made it much less liable than it was before to inundations. Below the town the river is from six to eight feet deep, and about a quarter of a mile broad. It empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, at the distance of twenty-two miles; where, according to Krascheninikoff, it is

[5] On this occasion Major Behm permitted us to examine all the maps and charts that were in his possession. Those relating to the peninsula of the Tschutski, were made in conformity to the information collected by Plenishner, between the years 1760 and 1770. As the charts of Plenishner were afterwards made use of, according to Mr Coxe, in the compilation of the General Map of Russia, published by the Academy in 1776, it may be necessary to observe, that we found them exceedingly erroneous; and that the compilers of the General Map seem to have been led into some mistakes on his authority. Those in which the islands on the coast of America were laid down, we found to contain nothing new, and to be much less accurate than those we saw at Oonalashka.

is capable of admitting vessels of a considerable size. There is no corn, of any species, cultivated in this part of the country; and Major Behm informed me, that his was the only garden that had yet been planted. The ground was, for the most part, covered with snow; that which was free from it appeared full of small hillocks, of a black turfy nature. I saw about twenty or thirty cows, and the major had six stout horses. These and their dogs are the only tame animals they possess; the necessity they are under, in the present state of the country, of keeping great numbers of the latter, making it impossible to bring up any cattle that are not in size and strength a match for them. For, during the summer season, their dogs are entirely let loose, and left to provide for themselves, which makes them so exceedingly ravenous, that they will sometimes even attack the bullocks.

The houses in Bolcheretsk are all of one fashion, being built of logs, and thatched. That of the commander is much larger than the rest, consisting of three rooms of a considerable size, neatly papered, and which might have been reckoned handsome, if the *talc* with which the windows were covered, had not given them a poor and disagreeable appearance. The town consists of several rows of low buildings, each consisting of five or six dwellings, connected together, with a long common passage running the length of them, on one side of which is the kitchen and store-house, and on the other the dwelling apartments. Besides these are barracks for the Russian soldiers and cossacks, a well-looking church, and a court-room, and at the end of the town a great number of *balagans*, belonging to the Kamtschadales. The inhabitants, taken all together, amount to between five and six hundred. In the evening the major gave a handsome entertainment, to which the principal people of the town of both sexes were invited.

The next morning we applied privately to the merchant, Fedositsch, to purchase some tobacco for the sailors, who had now been upward of a twelvemonth without this favourite commodity. However, this, like all our other transactions of the same kind, came immediately to the major's knowledge; and we were soon after surprised to find in our house four bags of tobacco, weighing upward of a hundred pounds each, which he begged might be presented, in the name of himself and the garrison under his command, to

our

our sailors. At the same time they had sent us twenty loaves of fine sugar, and as many pounds of tea, being articles they understood we were in great want of, which they begged to be indulged in presenting to the officers. Along with these Madame Behm had also sent a present for Captain Clerke, consisting of fresh-butter, honey, figs, rice, and some other little things of the same kind, attended with many wishes that, in his infirm state of health, they might be of service to him. It was in vain we tried to oppose this profusion of bounty, which I was really anxious to restrain, being convinced that they were giving away, not a share, but almost the whole stock of the garrison. The constant answer the major returned us on those occasions was, that we had suffered a great deal, and that we must needs be in distress. Indeed the length of time we had been out since we touched at any known port, appeared to them so very incredible, that it required the testimony of our maps, and other corroborating circumstances, to gain their belief. Amongst the latter was a very curious fact which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which, he said, but for our arrival, he should have been totally at a loss to account for.

It is well known that the Tschutski are the only people of the north of Asia who have maintained their independence, and resisted all the attempts that have been made by the Russians to reduce them. The last expedition against them was undertaken in the year 1750, and terminated, after various success, in the retreat of the Russian forces, and the loss of the commanding officer. Since that time the Russians had removed their frontier fortress from the Anadir to the Ingiga, a river that empties itself into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulf situated to the west of that of Penshinsk. From this fort Major Behm had received dispatches the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk, containing intelligence that a tribe, or party of the Tschutski, had arrived at that place with propositions of friendship, and a voluntary offer of tribute; that on enquiring into the cause of this unexpected alteration in their sentiments, they had informed his people, that toward the latter end of the last summer they had been visited by two very large Russian boats; that they had been treated by the people who were in them with the greatest kindness, and had entered into a league of friendship and amity with them; and that relying on this

this friendly disposition, they were now come to the Russian fort in order to settle a treaty on such terms as might be acceptable to both nations. This extraordinary history had occasioned much speculation, both at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk; and, had we not furnished them with a key to it, must have remained perfectly unintelligible. We felt no small satisfaction in having, though accidentally, shewn the Russians, in this instance, the only true way of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; and in the hopes that the good understanding which this event hath given rise to, may rescue a brave people from the future invasions of such powerful neighbours.

We dined this day with Captain Shmaleff, and in the afternoon, in order to vary our amusements, he treated us with an exhibition of the Russian and Kamtschadale dancing. No description can convey an adequate idea of this rude and uncouth entertainment. The figure of the Russian dance was much like those of our hornpipes, and was danced either single, or by two or four persons at a time. Their steps were short and quick, with the feet scarce raised from the ground; the arms were fixed close to the sides, the body being all the while kept upright and immovable, excepting when the parties passed each other, at which time the hand was raised with a quick and awkward motion. But if the Russian dance was, at the same time, both unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale joined to the latter quality the most whimsical idea that ever entered into any people's heads. It is intended to represent the awkward and clumsy gestures of the bear, which these people have frequent opportunities of observing in a great variety of situations. It will scarcely be expected that I should give a minute description of all the strange postures which were exhibited on these occasions; and I shall therefore only mention, that the body was always bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were used in imitating the tricks and attitudes of that animal.

As our journey to Bolcheretsk had taken up more time than we expected, and we were told that our return might prove still more difficult and tedious, we were under the necessity of acquainting the commander this evening with our intention of setting out the next day. It was not without the utmost regret we thought of leaving our new acquaintance, and were therefore most agreeably surprised when

when the major told us, that if we could stay one day longer, he would accompany us. He had, he said, made up his dispatches, and resigned the command of Kamtschatka to his successor Captain Shmaleff, and had prepared every thing for his departure to Okotsk, which was to take place in a few days; but that he should feel great pleasure in putting off his journey a little longer, and returning with us to Saint Peter and Paul's, that he might himself be a witness of every thing being done for us that it was in their power to do.

In return for the few trifles I had given to the children of Major Behm, I was next morning, the 15th, presented by his little boy with a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, which shall be described in its proper place. It was of the kind worn by the principal *Toions* of the country on occasions of great ceremony; and, as I was afterward told by Fedositsch, could not have been purchased for one hundred and twenty roubles. At the same time I had a present from his daughter of a handsome sable muff.

We afterward dined with the commander, who, in order to let us see as much of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the customs of the country, as our time would permit, invited the whole of the better sort of people in the village to his house this evening. All the women appeared very splendidly dressed after the Kamtschadale fashion. The wives of Captain Shmaleff and the other officers of the garrison, were prettily dressed, half in the Siberian and half in the European mode; and Madame Behm, in order to make the strongest contrast, had unpacked part of her baggage, and put on a rich European dress. I was much struck with the richness and variety of the silks which the women wore, and the singularity of their habits. The whole was like some enchanted scene in the midst of the wildest and most dreary country in the world. Our entertainment again consisted of dancing and singing.

The next morning being fixed for our departure, we retired early to our lodgings, where the first things we saw were three travelling dresses, made after the fashion of the country, which the major had provided for us, who came himself to our house soon after, to see all our things packed up and properly taken care of. Indeed, what with his liberal presents, and the kindness of Captain Shmaleff, and many other individuals, who all begged to throw in their

mite,

mite, together with the ample stock of provisions he had sent us for our journey, we had amassed no inconsiderable load of baggage.

Early in the morning, every thing being ready for our departure, we were invited to call on Madame Behm in our way to the boats, and take our leave of her. Impressed, as our minds were, with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, by the attentive, benevolent, and generous treatment we had met with at Bolcheretsk, they were greatly heightened by the affecting scene which presented itself to us on leaving our lodgings. All the soldiers and cossacks belonging to the garrison were drawn up on one hand, and the male inhabitants of the town, dressed out in their best clothes, on the other; and, as soon as we came out of the house, the whole body of the people joined in a melancholy song, which the major told us it was usual in that country to sing on taking leave of their friends. In this manner we marched down to the commander's house, preceded by the drums and music of the garrison, where we were received by Madame Behm, attended by the ladies, who were dressed in long silk cloaks, lined with very valuable furs of different colours, which made a most magnificent appearance. After partaking of some refreshment that was prepared for us, we went down to the water-side, accompanied by the ladies, who now joined the song with the rest of the inhabitants; and, as soon as we had taken leave of Madame Behm, and assured her of the grateful sense we should ever retain of the hospitality of Bolcheretsk, we found ourselves too much affected not to hasten into the boats with all the expedition we could. When we put off, the whole company gave us three cheers, which we returned from the boat; and, as we were doubling a point, where, for the last time, we saw our friendly entertainers, they took their farewell in another cheer.

We found the stream on our return so exceedingly rapid, that, notwithstanding the cossacks and Kamtschadales used their utmost exertions, we did not reach the first village, Opatchin, till the evening of the 17th, which was at the rate of about twenty miles a day. We got to Natcheekin on the 19th; and, on the 20th, we crossed the plain to Karatchin. We found the road much better than when we had passed it before, there having been a smart frost on the night of the 19th. On the 21st, we proceeded down the Awatska

Awatska river; and, before it was dark, got over the shoals which lie at the entrance of the bay. During the whole course of our journey we were much pleased with the great good-will with which the *Toions* and their Kamtschadales afforded us their assistance at the different *ostrogs* through which we passed; and I could not but observe the pleasure that appeared in their countenances on seeing the major, and their strong expressions of sorrow, on hearing he was so soon going to leave them.

We had dispatched a messenger to Captain Clerke from Bolcheretsk, with an account of our reception, and of the major's intention of returning with us, at the same time apprising him of the day he might probably expect to see us. We were therefore very well pleased to observe, as we approached the harbour, all the boats of the two ships coming towards us, the men clean, and the officers as well dressed as the scarcity of our clothing would permit. The major was much struck at the robust and healthy appearance of the boats' crews, and still more at seeing most of them without any other covering than a shirt and trowsers, although at the very moment it actually snowed.

As Major Behm had expressed his intentions of visiting the ships before he landed, as soon as we arrived off the town, I desired to receive his commands; when remarking, that from the account we had given of the very bad state of Captain Clerke's health, it might be imprudent to disturb him at so late an hour, (it being now past nine o'clock,) he thought it, he said, most advisable to remain that night on shore. Accordingly, after attending him to the serjeant's house, I took my leave for the present, and went on board to acquaint Captain Clerke with my proceedings at Bolcheretsk. It was with the utmost concern I found, that, in the fortnight we had been absent, this excellent officer was much altered for the worse, instead of reaping that advantage we flattered ourselves he might from the repose of the harbour, and the milk and vegetable diet with which he was supplied.

As soon as I had dispatched this business, I returned to the major, and the next morning conducted him to the ships; where, on his arrival, he was saluted with thirteen guns, and received with every other mark of distinction that it was in our power to pay him. He was attended by the commander of one of the Russian galliots, the master of a

sloop

sloop that lay in the harbour, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, and the priest of the neighbouring village of Paratounca, for whom he appeared to entertain the highest respect, and whom I shall hereafter have occasion to mention, on account of his great kindness to Captain Clerke.

After visiting the captain, and taking a view of both the ships, he returned to dinner on board the Resolution; and, in the afternoon, the various curiosities we had collected in the course of our voyage were shewn him, and a complete assortment of every article presented to him by Captain Clerke. On this occasion I must not pass over an instance of great generosity and gratitude in the sailors of both ships; who, when they were told of the handsome present of tobacco that was made them by the major, desired, entirely of their own accord, that their grog might be stopped, and their allowance of spirits presented, on their part, to the garrison of Bolcheretsk, as they said they had reason to conclude that brandy was scarce in the country, and would be very acceptable to them, since the soldiers on shore had offered four roubles a bottle for it. We, who knew how much the sailors always felt whenever their allowance of grog was stopped, which was generally done in warm weather, that they might have it in a greater proportion in cold, and that this offer would deprive them of it during the inclement season we had to expect in our next expedition to the north, could not but admire so extraordinary a sacrifice; and, that they might not suffer by it, Captain Clerke, and the rest of the officers, substituted in the room of the very small quantity the major could be prevailed on to accept, the same quantity of rum. This, with a dozen or two of Cape wine, for Madame Behm, and such other little presents as were in our power to bestow, were accepted in the most obliging manner. The next morning the tobacco was divided between the crews of the two ships, three pounds being allotted to every man that chewed or smoked tobacco, and one pound to those that did not.

I have before mentioned that Major Behm had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and intended to set out in a short time for Petersburg; and he now offered to charge himself with any dispatches we might trust to his care. This was an opportunity not to be neglected, and accordingly Captain Clerke acquainted him, that he would take the liberty of sending by him some papers relating to our

voyage,

voyage, to be delivered to our ambassador at the Russian court. Our first intentions were to send only a small journal of our proceedings; but, afterward, Captain Clerke being persuaded that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be trusted to a person who had given such striking proofs both of his public and private virtues; and considering that we had a very hazardous part of the voyage still to undertake, determined to send by him the whole of the journal of our late commander, with that part of his own which completed the period of Captain Cook's death till our arrival at Kamtschatka, together with a chart of all our discoveries. Mr Bayly and myself thought it also proper to send a general account of our proceedings to the Board of Longitude; by which precautions, if any misfortune had afterward befallen us, the Admiralty would have been in possession of a complete history of the principal facts of our voyage. It was also determined that a smaller packet should be sent by an express from Okotsk, which, the major said, if he was fortunate in his passage to that port, would reach Petersburg by December, and that he himself should be there in February or March.

During the three following days the major was entertained alternately in the two ships in the best manner we were able. On the 25th he took his leave, and was saluted with thirteen guns; and the sailors, at their own desire, gave him three cheers. The next morning, Mr Webber and myself attended him a few miles up the Awatska river, where we met the Russian priest, his wife and children, who were waiting to take the last farewell of their commander.

It was hard to say, whether the good priest and his family, or ourselves, were most affected on taking leave of Major Behm. Short as our acquaintance had been, his noble and disinterested conduct had inspired us with the highest respect and esteem for him; and we could not part with a person to whom we were under such obligations, and whom we had little prospect of ever seeing again, without feeling the most tender concern. The intrinsic value of the private presents we received from him, exclusive of the stores which might be carried to a public account, must have amounted, according to the current price of articles in that country, to upward of two hundred pounds. But this generosity, extraordinary as it must appear in itself, was exceeded by the delicacy with which all his favours were conferred,

ferred, and the artful manner in which he endeavoured to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations, which he knew we had no means of requiting. If we go a step further, and consider him as supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of a great sovereign, we shall find a still higher subject of admiration, in the just and enlarged sentiments by which he was actuated. "The service in which you are employed," he would often say, "is for the general advantage of mankind, and therefore gives you a right, not merely to the offices of humanity, but to the privileges of citizens, in whatever country you may be thrown. I am sure I am acting agreeably to the wishes of my mistress, in affording you all the relief in our power; and I cannot forget either her character, or my own honour, so much, as to barter for the performance of my duty." At other times he would tell us, that he was particularly desirous of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who, he said, were but just emerging from a state of barbarism; that they looked up to the Russians as their patterns in every thing; and that he had hopes they might in future look upon it as a duty incumbent upon them to assist strangers to the utmost of their power, and believe that such was the universal practice of civilized nations. To all this must be added, that after having relieved, to the utmost of his abilities, all our present distresses, he shewed himself not much less mindful of our future wants; and as he supposed it more than probable we should not discover the passage we were in search of, and therefore should return to Kamtschatka in the fall of the year, he made Captain Clerke give him a list of what cordage and flour we should want, and promised they should be sent from Okotsk, and wait our arrival. For the same purpose, he gave Captain Clerke a paper, enjoining all the subjects of the empress, whom we might happen to meet, to give us every assistance in their power.[6]

SECTION

[6] The reader need scarcely be reminded, that mention is made in the introduction to this voyage, of an honourable testimony of British gratitude for the extraordinary services of this generous man. Of his subsequent history, we regret to say, we are entirely ignorant.—E.

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## Section III.

*Continuation of Transactions in the Harbour of St Peter and St Paul.—Abundance of Fish.—Death of a Seaman belonging to the Resolution.—The Russian Hospital put under the Care of the Ship's Surgeons.—Supply of Flour and Cattle.—Celebration of the King's Birth-day.—Difficulties in Sailing out of the Bay.—Eruption of a Volcano.—Steer to the Northward.—Cheepoonskoi Noss.—Errors of the Russian Charts.—Kamptschatskoi Noss.—Island of St Laurence.—View, from the same Point, of the Coasts of Asia and America, and the Islands of St Diomede.—Various Attempts to get to the North, between the two Continents.—Obstructed by Impenetrable Ice.—Sea-horses and White Bears killed.—Captain Clerke's Determination and future Designs.*

Having concluded the last section with an account of our return from Bolcheretsk, accompanied by Major Behm, the commander of Kamtschatka, and of his departure, I shall proceed to relate the transactions that passed in the harbour of St Peter and St Paul during our absence. On the 7th of May, soon after we had left the bay, a large piece of ice drove across the cut-water of the Resolution, and brought home the small bower-anchor. This obliged them to weigh the other anchor, and moor again. The carpenters who were employed in stopping the leak, were obliged to take off a great part of the sheathing from the bows, and found many of the trunnels so very loose and rotten, as to be easily drawn out with the fingers.

On the 11th, they had heavy gales from the N.E., which obliged both the ships to strike yards and topmasts; but in the afternoon the weather being more moderate, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, they warped close to the shore for the greater convenience of watering and wooding, and again moored as before; the town bearing N. ½ W., half a mile distant, and the mouth of the bay shut in by the southernmost point of Rakowina harbour, S.

The next day a party was sent on shore to cut wood, but made little progress on account of the snow, which still covered

vered the ground. A convenient spot was cleared away abreast of the ships, where there was a fine run of water; and a tent being erected for the cooper, the empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent on shore.

On the 15th, the beach being clear of ice, the people were sent to haul the seine, and caught an abundant supply of fine flat fish for both the ships' companies. Indeed from this time, during the whole of our stay in the harbour, we were absolutely overpowered with the quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The *Toions*, both of this town, and of Paratounca, a village in the neighbourhood, had received orders from Major Behm to employ all the Kamtschadales in our service; so that we frequently could not take into the ships the presents that were sent us. They consisted in general of fish, cod, trout, and herring. These last, which were in their full perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were exceedingly abundant in this bay. The Discovery's people surrounded at one time so great a quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw a vast number out, lest the net should be broken to pieces; and the cargo they landed was afterward so plentiful, that besides a sufficient store for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could spare for salting; and after sending to the Resolution a sufficient quantity for the same purpose, they left several bushels behind on the beach.

The snow now began to disappear very rapidly, and abundance of wild garlic, celery, and nettle-tops, were gathered for the use of the crews; which being boiled with wheat and portable soup, made them a wholesome and comfortable breakfast; and with this they were supplied every morning. The birch-trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, which they yielded in great quantities, was constantly mixed with the men's allowance of brandy.

The next day a small bullock, which had been procured for the ship's company by the serjeant, was killed; and weighed two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both crews for their Sunday's dinner, being the first piece of fresh beef they had tasted since our departure from the Cape of Good Hope, in December 1776, a period of near two years and a half.

This evening died John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate, after having laboured under a dysentery ever since our departure from the Sandwich islands; he was a very hard-



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working quiet man, and much regretted by his messmates. He was the fourth person we lost by sickness during the voyage; but the first who could be said, from his age and the constitutional habits of his body, to have had on our setting out an equal chance with the rest of his comrades; Watman, we supposed to be about sixty years of age, and Roberts and Mr Anderson, from the decay which had evidently commenced before we left England, could not, in all probability, under any circumstances, have lived a greater length of time than they did.

I have already mentioned, that Captain Clerke's health continued daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which the country of Kamtschatka afforded him. The priest of Paratounca, as soon as he heard of the infirm state he was in, supplied him every day with bread, milk, fresh butter, and fowls, though his house was sixteen miles from the harbour where we lay.

On our first arrival, we found the Russian hospital, which is near the town of St Peter and St Paul, in a condition truly deplorable. All the soldiers were, more or less, affected by the scurvy, and a great many in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were also in the same condition; and we particularly remarked, that our friend the serjeant, by making too free with the spirits we gave him, had brought on himself, in the course of a few days, some of the most alarming symptoms of that malady. In this lamentable state, Captain Clerke put them all under the care of our surgeons, and ordered a supply of sour-krout, and malt, for wort, to be furnished for their use. It was astonishing to observe the alteration in the figures of almost every person we met on our return from Bolcheretsk; and I was informed by our surgeons, that they attributed their speedy recovery principally to the effects of the sweetwort.[1]

On

[1] Krusenstern substantially admits the correctness of Captain King's statement respecting the Russian hospital, &c. by saying, expressively enough, things are not quite so bad at present. It is evident, however, from his remarks, that the change to the better is almost to the full amount of being imperceptible, notwithstanding the zeal of some individuals whose exertions he is anxious to eulogize, and his own disposition to believe that their well-meant exertions have not been entirely fruitless. The change, it would seem, consists in the greater quantities of medicine sent to Kamtschatka, and not in the greater practicability of judiciously

applying

On the 1st of June we got on board two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pound weight of rye-flour, with which we were supplied from the stores of St Peter and St Paul; and the Discovery had a proportional quantity. The men were immediately put on full allowance of bread, which they had not been indulged in since our leaving the Cape of Good Hope. The same day our watering was completed, having got on board sixty-five tons.

On the 4th we had fresh breezes and hard rain, which disappointed us in our design of dressing the ships, and obliged us to content ourselves with firing twenty-one guns in honour of the day, and celebrating it in other respects in the best manner we were able. Port, who was left with us on account of his skill in languages, behaved himself with so much modesty and discretion, that as soon as his master was gone, he was no longer Jean Port, but Monsieur Port, the interpreter; and partook, as well as the serjeant (in his capacity of commander of the place), of the entertainment of the day. Our worthy friend, the priest of Paratounca, having got intelligence of its being our king's birth-day, gave also a sumptuous feast; at which some of our gentlemen were present, who seemed highly delighted with their entertainment, which consisted of abundance of good eating and drinking, together with dancing.

On the 6th, twenty head of cattle were sent us by the commander's orders, from the Verchnei *ostrog*, which is situated

applying them. This, most persons of discernment will shrewdly suspect, is several degrees worse than problematically a change to the better. At least one could scarcely help desiring rather to accept peaceably the warrant of a natural death, than to risk the enhancement of a conflict on the doubtful aid of a bungling doctor, whose chief recommendation, perhaps, if he would but allow himself to be favoured by it, consisted in his avowed ignorance securing his neutrality. In such a case, indeed, and it seems on the whole to be almost the very one which K. describes, it is obvious enough that the medicines can at least do no more harm than the bottles and boxes that contain them; but then one cannot easily perceive wherein consists the merit or utility of having provided them, unless, as in the instance of fire-arms hung over the chimney never to be loaded or fired, or in that of idols of wood and stone which adorn the temples of pagans, but which can neither receive nor bestow favours, we shall suppose that the imagination of some potential advantages is quite equivalent to the reality of their operation. Krusenstern has some sensible remarks on the proper method of supplying Kamtschatka with well-qualified physicians, but they are of course foreign to this place, and cannot, therefore, properly be introduced.—E

tuated on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of near a hundred miles from this place, in a direct line. They were of a moderate size; and, notwithstanding the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, arrived in good condition. The four following days were employed in making ready for sea; and on the 11th, at two in the morning, we began to unmoor; but before we had got one anchor up, it blew so strong a gale from the N.E., that we kept fast, and moored again; conjecturing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would set up the channel. Accordingly, the pinnace being sent out to examine the passage, returned with an account, that the wind blew strong from the S.E., with a great swell setting into the bay, which would have made any attempt to get to sea very hazardous.

Our friend Port now took his leave of us, and carried with him the box with our journals, which was to go by the major, and the packet that was to be sent express. On the 12th, the weather being more moderate, we began to unmoor again; but, after breaking the messenger, and reeving a running purchase with a six-inch hawser, which also broke three times, we were obliged at last to heave a strain at low water, and wait for the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This project succeeded; but not without damaging the cable in the wake of the hawse. At three we weighed the best bower, and set sail; and at eight having little wind, and the tide making against us, we dropped anchor again in ten fathoms, off the mouth of Rakowina harbour; the *ostrog* bearing N. by E. ½ E., two miles and a half distant; the Needle Rocks on the east side of the passage, S.S.E. ½ E.; and the high rock, on the west side of the passage, S.

On the 13th, at four in the morning, we got under way with the ebb tide; and there being a dead calm, the boats were sent ahead to tow the ships. At ten the wind springing up from the S.E. by S., and the tide having turned, we were again obliged to drop anchor in seven fathoms; the Three Needle Rocks bearing S. ½ E.; and the *ostrog* N. ½ E., at the distance of one mile from the nearest land. After dinner I went with Captain Gore on shore on the east side of the passage, where we saw, in two different places, the remains of extensive villages; and on the side of the hill an old ruined parapet, with four or five embrasures. It commanded

commanded the passage up the mouth of the bay; and in Beering's time, as he himself mentions, had guns mounted on it. Near this place were the ruins of some caverns under ground, which we supposed to have been magazines.

At six in the afternoon we weighed with the ebb tide, and turned to windward; but at eight a thick fog arising, we were obliged to bring-to, as our soundings could not afford us a sufficient direction for steering between several sunk rocks, which lie on each side of the passage we had to make. In the morning of the 14th, the fog clearing away, we weighed as soon as the tide began to ebb, and having little wind, sent the boats ahead to tow; but at ten o'clock, both the wind and tide set in so strong from the sea, that we were again obliged to drop anchor in thirteen fathoms, the high rock bearing W. ¼ S., distant three quarters of a mile. We remained fast for the rest of the day, the wind blowing fresh into the mouth of the bay; and toward evening, the weather had a very unusual appearance, being exceedingly dark and cloudy, with an unsettled shifting wind.

Before day-light, on the 15th, we were surprised with a rumbling noise, resembling distant hollow thunder; and when the day broke, we found the decks and sides of the ships covered with a fine dust like emery, near an inch thick. The air at the same time continued loaded and darkened with this substance, and toward the *volcano* moun tain, situated to the north of the harbour, it was so thick and black, that we could not distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and during the afternoon, the explosions became louder, and were followed by showers of cinders, which were in general about the size of peas; though many were picked up from the deck larger than a hazel-nut. Along with the cinders fell several small stones, which had undergone no change from the action of fire. In the evening we had dreadful thunder and lightning, which, with the darkness of the atmosphere, and the sulphureous smell of the air, produced altogether a most awful and terrifying effect. We were at this time about eight leagues from the foot of the mountain.

On the 16th, at day-light, we again weighed anchor, and stood out of the bay; but the ebb tide setting across the passage upon the eastern shore, and the wind falling, we were driven very near the Three Nedle Rocks, which lie on that side of the entrance, and obliged to hoist out the boats,

boats, in order to tow the ships clear of them. At noon we were two leagues from the land, and had soundings with forty-three fathoms of line, over a bottom of small stones, of the same kind with those which fell on our decks after the eruption of the *volcano;* but whether they had been left there by the last, or by some former eruptions, we were not able to determine.

The aspect of the country was now very different from what it had been on our first arrival. The snow, excepting what remained on the tops of some very high mountains, had disappeared; and the sides of the hills, which in many parts were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure.

As it was Captain Clerke's intention to keep as much in sight of the coast of Kamtschatka as the weather would permit, in order to determine its position, we continued steering to the N.N.E., with light and variable winds till the 18th. The *volcano* was still seen throwing up immense volumes of smoke, and we had no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms, at the distance of four leagues from the shore.

On the 18th, the wind freshening from the south, the weather became so thick and hazy, as to make it imprudent to attempt any longer to keep in sight of the land. But that we might be ready to resume our survey, whenever the fogs should disperse, we ran on in the direction of the coast, as laid down in the Russian charts, and fired signal guns for the Discovery to steer the same course. At eleven o'clock, just before we lost sight of the land, Cheepoonskoi Noss, so called by the Russians, (a description of which, as well as the coast between it and Awatska Bay, will be given hereafter), bore N.N.E., distant seven or eight leagues.

On the 20th, at three in the morning, the weather having cleared up, we stood in toward the land; and in an hour's time saw it ahead, extending from N.W. to N.N.E., distant about five leagues. The north part we took to be Kronotskoi Noss; its position in the Russian charts agreeing nearly with our reckoning as to its latitude, which was 54° 42′; but in longitude we differed from them considerably, they placing it 1° 48′ E. of Awatska; whereas our reckoning, corrected by the time-keepers and lunar observations, makes it 3° 34′ eastward of that place, or 162° 17′ E. from Greenwich. The land about this cape is very high, and the in-

land

land mountains were still covered with snow. The shore breaks off in steep cliffs, and the coast is without appearance of inlets or bays. We had not been long gratified with this sight of the land, when the wind freshened from the S.W., and brought on a thick fog, which obliged us to stand off to the N.E. by E. The weather clearing up again at noon, we steered toward the land, expecting to fall in with Kamtschatskoi Noss, and had sight of it at day-break of the 21st.

The southerly wind was soon after succeeded by a light breeze blowing off the land, which prevented our approaching the coast sufficiently near to describe its aspect, or ascertain with accuracy its direction. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 55° 52′, and longitude (deduced from a comparison of many lunar observations, taken near this time, with the time-keepers), 163° 50′; the extremities of the land bearing N.W. by W. ¾ W., and N. by W. ½ W., the nearest part about eight leagues distant. At nine o'clock in the evening, having approached about two leagues nearer the coast, we found it formed a projecting peninsula, extending about twelve leagues in a direction nearly north and south. It is level, and of a moderate height, the southern extremity terminating in a low sloping point; that to the north forming a steep bluff head; and between them, about four leagues to the southward of the northern cape, there is a considerable break in the land. On each side of this break the land is quite low; beyond the opening rises a remarkable saddle-like hill; and a chain of high mountains, covered with snow, ranges along the back of the whole peninsula.

As the coast runs in an even direction, we were at a great loss where to place Kamtschatskoi Noss, which, according to Muller, forms a projecting point about the middle of the peninsula, and which certainly does not exist; but I have since found, that in the general map published by the Academy of Petersburgh in 1776, that name is given to the southern cape. This was found, by several accurate observations, to be in latitude 56° 3′, longitude 163° 20′; the difference, in longitude, from the Russian charts, being the same as at Kronotskoi Noss. The variation of the compass at this time was 10° E. To the southward of this peninsula, the great river Kamtschatka falls into the sea.

As the season was too far advanced to admit of our making

king an accurate survey of the coast of Kamtschatka, it was Captain Clerke's plan, in our run to Beering's Strait, to determine principally the positions of the projecting points of the coast. We therefore directed our course across an extensive bay, laid down between Kamtschatskoi Noss and Olutorskoi Noss, intending to make the latter; which, according to the Russian geographers, terminates the peninsula called Kamtschatka, and becomes the southern boundary of the Koriaki country.

On the 22d we passed a dead whale, which emitted a horrid stench, perceivable at upward of a league's distance; it was covered with a great number of sea-birds, that were feasting on it.

On the 24th, the wind, which had varied round the compass the three preceding days, fixed at S.W., and brought clear weather, with which we continued our course to the N.E. by N. across the bay, without any land in sight.

This day we saw a great number of gulls, and were witnesses to the disgusting mode of feeding of the arctic gull, which has procured it the name of the parasite; and which, if the reader is not already acquainted with it, he will find in the note below.[1]

On the 25th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, being in latitude 59° 12′, longitude 168° 35′, the wind freshening from the same quarter, a thick fog succeeded; and this unfortunately just at the time we expected to see Olutorskoi Noss, which, if Muller places it right in latitude 59° 30′, and in longitude 167° 36′, could only have then been twelve leagues from us; at which distance, land of a moderate height might easily have been seen. But if the same error in longitude prevails here, which we have hitherto invariably found, it would have been much nearer us, even before the fog came on; and as we saw no appearances of land at that time, it must either have been very low, or there must be some mistake of latitude in Muller's account. We tried soundings, but had no ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

The weather still thickening, and preventing a nearer approach

[1] This bird, which is somewhat larger than the common gull, pursues the latter kind whenever it meets them; the gull, after flying for some time, with loud screams, and evident marks of great terror, drops its dung, which its pursuer immediately darts at, and catches before it falls into the sea.

approach to the land, at five we steered E. by N., which is somewhat more easterly than the Russian charts lay down the trending of the coast from Olutorskoi Noss. The next day we had a fresh gale from the S.W., which lasted till the 27th at noon, when the fogs clearing away, we stood to the northward, in order to make the land. The latitude at noon, by observation, was 59° 49′, longitude 175° 43′. Notwithstanding we saw shags in the forenoon, which are supposed never to go far from land, yet there was no appearance of it this day; but on the 28th, at six in the morning, we got sight of it to the N.W. The coast shews itself in hills of a moderate height; but inland, others are seen to rise considerably. We could observe no wood, and the snow lying upon them in patches, gave the whole a very barren appearance. At nine we were about ten miles from the shore, the southern extremity bearing W. by S., six leagues distant, beyond which the coast appeared to trend to the westward. This point being in latitude 61° 48′, longitude 174°, 48′, lies, according to the Russian charts, near the mouth of the river Opuka. At the same time the northern extreme bore N. by W.; between which and a hill bearing N.W. by W. ¾ W., and at this distance appearing to us like an island, the coast seemed to bend to the westward, and form a deep bay.

About eight miles from land, we perceived ourselves in a strong rippling; and being apprehensive of foul ground, we bore away to the N.E., along the shore; notwithstanding, on heaving the lead, we found regular soundings of twenty-four fathoms, over a gravelly bottom; from whence we concluded, that this appearance was occasioned by a tide, at that time running to the southward. At noon, the extremes of the land bearing W.S.W. ¼ W., and N.N.E. ¾ E., distant from the nearest shore four leagues, we were abreast of the low land, which we now perceived to join the two points, where we had before expected to find a deep bay. The coast bends a little to the westward, and has a small inlet, which may probably be the mouth of some trifling stream. Our latitude, by observation, was 61° 56′, and longitude 175° 43′, and the variation of the compass 17° 30′ E.

We continued during the afternoon to run along the shore, at the distance of four or five leagues, with a moderate westerly breeze, carrying regular soundings from twenty-eight

ty-eight to thirty-six fathoms. The coast presented the same barren aspect as to the southward; the hills rising considerably inland, but to what height, the clouds on their tops put it out of our power to determine. At eight in the evening, land was thought to have been seen to the E. by N., on which we steered to the southward of E.; but it turned out to be only a fog-bank. At midnight, the extreme point bearing N.E. ¼ E., we supposed it to be Saint Thadeus's Noss; to the southward of which the land trends to the westward, and forms a deep bight, wherein, according to the Russian charts, lies the river Katirka.

On the 29th, the weather was unsettled and variable, with the wind from the N.E. At noon of the 30th, our latitude, by observation, was 61° 48′, and longitude 180° 0′; at which time Saint Thadeus's Noss bore N N.W., twenty-three leagues distant, and beyond it we observed the coast stretching almost directly N. The most easterly point of the Noss is in latitude 62° 50′, and longitude 179° 0′, being 3½° more to the E. than what the Russians make it. The land about it must be of a considerable height, from its being seen at so great a distance. During the two last days, we saw numbers of whales, large seals, and sea-horses; also gulls, sea-parrots, and albatrosses. We took the advantage of a little calm weather to try for fish, and caught abundance of fine cod. The depth of water from sixty-five to seventy-five fathoms.

On the 1st of July at noon, Mr Bligh having moored a small keg with the deep-sea lead, in seventy-five fathoms, found the ship made a course N. by E., half a mile an hour. This he attributed to the effect of a long southerly swell, and not to that of any current. The wind freshening from the S.E. toward evening, we shaped our course to the N.E. by E., for the point called in Beering's chart Tschukotskoi Noss, which we had observed on the 4th of September last year, at the same time that we saw, to the S.E., the island of Saint Laurence. This cape, and Saint Thadeus's Noss, form the N.E. and S.W. extremities of the large and deep gulph of Anadir, into the bottom of which the river of that name empties itself, dividing as it passes the country of the Koriacs from that of the Tschutski.

On the 3d at noon, the latitude, by observation, was 63° 33′, and the longitude 186° 45′; half an hour after which we got sight of the Tschukotskoi Noss, bearing N. ½ W., thirteen

thirteen or fourteen leagues distant; and at five in the afternoon saw the island of Saint Laurence, bearing E. ¾ N.; and another island a little to the eastward of it, which we supposed to be between Saint Laurence and Anderson's Island, about six leagues E.S.E. of the former. As we had no certain accounts of this island, Captain Clerke was desirous of a nearer prospect, and immediately hauled the wind toward it; but unfortunately we were not able to weather the island of Saint Laurence, and were therefore under the necessity of bearing up again, and passing them all to the leeward.

We had a better opportunity of settling the longitude of the island Saint Laurence, when we last saw it than now. But seeing it at that time but once, and to the southward, we could only determine its latitude so far as we could judge of distances; whereas now the noon observations enabled us to ascertain it correctly, which is 63° 47′. Its longitude was found to be 188° 15′ as before. This island, if its boundaries were at this time within our view, is about three leagues in circuit. The north part may be seen at the distance of ten or twelve leagues; but as it falls in low land to the south-east, the extent of which we could not see, some of us conjectured that it might probably be joined to the land to the eastward of it; this, however, the haziness of the weather prevented our ascertaining. These islands, as well as the land about the Tschukotskoi Noss, were covered with snow, and presented us with a most dreary picture. At midnight, Saint Laurence bore S.S.E., five or six miles distant; and our depth of water was eighteen fathoms. We were accompanied by various kinds of sea-fowl, and saw several small crested hawks.

The weather still continuing to thicken, we lost all sight of land till the 5th, when it appeared both to the N.E. and N.W. Our latitude, by account, was at this time 65° 24′, longitude 189° 14′. As the islands of Saint Diomede, which lie between the two continents in Beering's strait, were determined by us last year to be in latitude 65° 48′, we could not reconcile the land to the N.E., with the situation of these islands. We therefore stood toward the land till three in the afternoon, when we were within four miles of it, and finding it to be two islands, were pretty well satisfied of their being the same; but the weather still continuing hazy, to make sure of our situation, we stood over to the

the coast of Asia till seven in the evening; at which time we were within two or three leagues of the east cape of that continent.

This cape is a high round head of land, extending four or five miles from north to south, forming a peninsula, and connected with the continent by a narrow neck of low land. Its shore is bold, and off its north part are three high, detached, spiral rocks. At this time it was covered with snow, and the beach surrounded with ice. We were now convinced, that we had been under the influence of a strong current, setting to the north, that had caused an error in our latitude at noon of twenty miles. In passing this strait the last year, we had experienced the same effect.

Being at length sure of our position, we held on to the N. by E. At ten at night the weather becoming clear, we had an opportunity of seeing, at the same moment, the remarkable peaked hill, near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the east cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of Saint Diomede between them.[3]

At noon on the 6th, the latitude, by account, was 67° N., and the longitude 191° 6′ E. Having already passed a considerable number of large masses of ice, and observed that it still adhered in several places to the shore on the continent of Asia, we were not much surprised to fall in, at three in the afternoon, with an extensive body of it, stretching away to the westward. This sight gave great discouragement to our hopes of advancing much farther northward this year, than we had done the preceding.

Having little wind in the afternoon, we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the detached pieces of ice; but they soon returned without success; these animals being exceedingly shy, and before they could come within gun-shot always making their retreat into the water.

At seven in the evening we hoisted in the boats, and the wind freshening from the southward, we stood on to the N.E., with a view of exploring the continent of America, between

[3] The distance betwixt the two remarkable points now specified, it will be proper for the reader to remember, is estimated at 13 leagues, or about 40 miles, being the nearest approach of the two continents of Asia and America yet ascertained.—E.

between the latitudes of 68° and 69°, which, owing to the foggy weather last year, we had not been able to examine. In this attempt we were again in part disappointed. For on the 7th, at six in the morning, we were stopped by a large field of ice, stretching from N.W. to S.E.; but soon after, the horizon becoming clear, we had sight of the coast of America, at about ten leagues distance, extending from N.E. by E. to E., and lying, by observation, between the 68° and 68° 20′ of latitude. As the weather was clear, and the ice not high, we were enabled to see over a great extent of it. The whole presented a solid and compact surface, not in the smallest degree thawed; and appeared to us likewise to adhere to the land.

The weather soon after changing to hazy, we saw no more of the land; and there not remaining a possibility of approaching nearer to it, we stood to the N.N.W., keeping the ice close on board, and got round its western extremity by noon, when we found it trending nearly N. Our latitude at this time was, by account, 68° 22′, and longitude 192° 34′. We continued our course to the N.N.E., along the edge of the ice, during the remaining part of the day, passing through many loose pieces that had been broken off from the main body, and against which, notwithstanding all our caution, the ships were driven with great violence. At eight o'clock in the evening, we passed some drift-wood; and at midnight the wind shifted to the N.W., the thermometer fell from 38° to 31′, and we had continued showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th at five in the morning, the wind coming still more to the northward, we could no longer keep on the same tack, on account of the ice, but were obliged to stand to the westward. At this time our soundings had decreased to nineteen fathoms, from which, on comparing it with our observations on the depth of water last year, we concluded that we were not at a greater distance from the American shore than six or seven leagues; but our view was confined within a much shorter compass, by a violent fall of snow. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 21′, longitude 192° 42′. At two in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and we found ourselves close to an expanse of what appeared from the deck solid ice; but, from the mast-head, it was discovered to be composed of huge compact bodies, close and united toward the outer edge, but in the interior

parts several pieces were seen floating in vacant spaces of the water. It extended from N.E. by the N. to W.S.W. We bore away by the edge of it to the southward, that we might get into clearer water; for the strong northerly winds had drifted down such quantities of loose pieces, that we had been for some time surrounded by them, and could not avoid striking against several, notwithstanding we reefed the topsails, and stood under an easy sail.

On the 9th we had a fresh gale from the N.N.W., with heavy showers of snow and sleet. The thermometer was in the night time 28°, and at noon 30°. We continued to steer W.S.W., as before, keeping as near the large body of ice as we could, and had the misfortune to rub off some of the sheathing from the bows against the drift pieces, and to damage the cutwater. Indeed, the shocks we could not avoid receiving, were frequently so severe, as to be attended with considerable danger. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 12′, and longitude 188° 5′. The variation in the afternoon was found to be 29° 30′ E.

As we had now sailed near forty leagues to the westward, along the edge of the ice, without seeing any opening, or a clear sea to the northward beyond it, and had therefore no prospect of advancing farther N. for the present, Captain Clerke resolved to bear away to the S. by E. (the only quarter that was clear), and to wait till the season was more advanced, before he made any farther efforts to penetrate through the ice. The intermediate time he proposed to spend in examining the bay of Saint Laurence, and the coast to the southward of it; as a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the ice, would be very desirable. We also wished to pay another visit to our Tschutski friends; and particularly since the accounts we had heard of them from the commander of Kamtschatka.

We therefore stood on to the southward, till the noon of the 10th, at which time we passed great quantities of drift-ice, and the wind fell to a perfect calm. The latitude, by observation, was 68° 1′, longitude 188° 30′. We passed several whales in the forenoon, and in the afternoon hoisted out the boats, and sent them in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the pieces of ice that surrounded us. Our people were more successful than they had been before, returning with three large ones and a young one; besides killing and wounding several others.

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The gentlemen who went on this party were witnesses of several remarkable instances of parental affection in those animals. On the approach of our boats toward the ice, they all took their cubs under their fins, and endeavoured to escape with them into the sea. Several, whose young were killed or wounded, and left floating on the surface, rose again, and carried them down, sometimes just as our people were going to take them up into the boat; and might be traced bearing them to a great distance through the water, which was coloured with their blood; we afterward observed them bringing them at times above the surface, as if for air, and again diving under it with a dreadful bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young had been destroyed, and taken into the boat, became so enraged, that she attacked the cutter, and struck her two tusks through the bottom of it.

At eight in the evening, a breeze sprung up to the eastward, with which we still continued our course to the southward, and at twelve fell in with numerous large bodies of ice. We endeavoured to push through them with an easy sail, for fear of damaging the ship; and having got a little farther to the southward, nothing was to be seen but one compact field of ice, stretching to the S.W., S.E., and N.E., as far as the eye could reach. This unexpected and formidable obstacle put an end to Captain Clerke's plan of visiting the Tschutski; for no space remained open, but back again to the northward. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the 11th, we tacked, and stood to that quarter. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 67° 49′, and longitude 188° 47′.

On the 12th, we had light winds, with thick hazy weather; and on trying the current, we found it set to the N.W., at the rate of half a knot an hour. We continued to steer northward, with a moderate southerly breeze and fair weather till the 13th, at ten in the forenoon, when we again found ourselves close in with a solid field of ice, to which we could see no limits from the mast-head. This at once dashed all our hopes of penetrating farther, which had been considerably raised, by having now advanced near ten leagues through a space, which on the 9th we had found occupied by impenetrable ice. Our latitude at this time was 69° 37′; our position nearly in the mid-channel be-

tween the two continents; and the field of ice extending from E.N.E. to W.S.W.

As there did not remain the smallest prospect of getting farther north in the part of the sea where we now were, Captain Clerke resolved to make one more and final attempt on the American coast, for Baffin's Bay, since we had been able to advance the farthest on this side last year. Accordingly we kept working the remaining part of the day to the windward, with a fresh easterly breeze. We saw several fulmars and arctic gulls, and passed two trees, both appearing to have lain in the water a long time. The larger was about ten feet in length, and three in circumference, without either bark or branches, but with the roots remaining attached.

On the 14th, we stood on to the eastward, with thick and foggy weather, our course being nearly parallel to that we steered the 8th and 9th, but six leagues more to the northward. On the 15th, the wind freshened from the westward, and having in a great measure dispersed the fog, we immediately stood to the northward, that we might take a nearer view of the ice; and in an hour were close in with it, extending from N.N.W. to N.E. We found it to be compact and solid; the outer parts were ragged, and of different heights; the interior surface was even, and we judged from eight to ten feet above the level of the sea. The weather becoming moderate for the remaining part of the day, we directed our course according to the trending of the ice, which in many parts formed deep bays.

In the morning of the 16th the wind freshened, and was attended with thick and frequent showers of snow. At eight in the forenoon, it blew a strong gale from the W.S.W., and brought us under double-reefed top-sails; when the weather clearing a little, we found ourselves embayed, the ice having taken a sudden turn to the S.E., and in one compact body surrounding us on all sides, except on the south quarter. We therefore hauled our wind to the southward, being at this time in latitude 70° 8′ N., and in twenty-six fathoms water; and, as we supposed, about twenty-five leagues from the coast of America. The gale increasing, at four in the afternoon we close reefed the fore and main top-sails, furled the mizen-top-sail, and got the top-gallant-yards down upon deck. At eight, finding the depth of water had decreased to twenty-two fathoms, which

which we considered as a proof of our near approach to the American coast, we tacked and stood to the north. We had blowing weather, accompanied with snow, through the night; but next morning it became clear and moderate, and at eight in the forenoon we got the top-gallant yards across, and made sail with the wind still at W.S.W. At noon we were in latitude, by observation, 69° 55′, longitude 194° 30′. Toward evening the wind slackened, and at midnight it was a calm.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, a light breeze sprung up from the E.N.E., with which we continued our course to the north, in order to regain the ice as soon as possible. We passed some small logs of drift-wood, and saw abundance of sea-parrots, and the small ice-birds, and likewise a number of whales. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 70° 26′, and longitude 194° 54′; the depth of water twenty-three fathoms; the ice stretched from N. to E.N.E., and was distant about three miles. At one in the afternoon, finding that we were close in with a firm united field of it, extending from W.N.W. to E., we tacked, and the wind coming round to the westward, stood on to the eastward, along its edge, till eleven at night. At that time a very thick fog coming on, and the water shoaling to nineteen fathoms, we hauled our wind to the south. The variation observed this day was 31° 20′ E. It is remarkable, that though we saw no sea-horses on the body of the ice, yet they were in herds, and in greater numbers on the detached fragments, than we had ever observed before. About nine in the evening, a white bear was seen swimming close by the Discovery; it afterward made to the ice, on which were also two others.

On the 19th, at one in the morning, the weather clearing up, we again steered to the N.E. till two, when we were a second time so completely embayed, that there was no opening left but to the south; to which quarter we accordingly directed our course, returning through a remarkably smooth water, and with very favourable weather, by the same way we had come in. We were never able to penetrate farther north than at this time, when our latitude was 70° 33′; and this was five leagues short of the point to which we advanced last season. We held on to the S.S.W., with light winds from the N.W., by the edge of the main ice, which lay on our left hand, and stretched between us

and the continent of America. Our latitude, by observation at noon, was 70° 11′, our longitude 196° 15′, and the depth of water sixteen fathoms. From this circumstance, we judged that the Icy Cape was now only at seven or eight leagues distance; but though the weather was in general clear, it was at the same time hazy in the horizon; so that we could not expect to see it.[4]

In the afternoon we saw two white bears in the water, to which we immediately gave chase in the jolly-boat, and had the good fortune to kill them both. The larger, which probably was the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not quit it, though it might easily have escaped on the ice whilst the men were reloading, but remained swimming about, till after being fired upon several times, it was shot dead.

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[4] Captain Cook then must still be allowed to have succeeded in getting farther towards the north in this ocean, than any other navigator. For, from the date of this voyage up to the present period, so far at least as has been published, no one has surpassed the limit of his examination. But it is obvious, from the very circumstance of the difference betwixt the two attempts recorded in this voyage, that a considerable variation in the state and intensity of the obstructing cause may occur in various years. There is a probability then, that a still greater difference might be experienced, affording a practicable opportunity of getting still more towards the north than in either of them. How far this probability, not a great one, as Captain King afterwards suggests, ought to be considered, or how far the expectation of any benefit arising from it, ought to influence in directing another similar undertaking, it is not the province of this work to speculate. But one cannot help remarking, that the Russian government at least, might not be injudiciously employed in ordering one or more vessels, properly fitted up, to be kept in readiness at some port in this distant region of the empire, to take advantage of any season more suitable than another, for prosecuting the enterprise. Nay, is it not far from being romantic to imagine, that the two friendly powers of Russia and Great Britain might actually find a reward, in the promotion of their mutual interest, by a joint and well-concerted plan for opening up a communication by any means betwixt the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans? Both of them, one should suppose, must be sensible, that the zeal of their intermediate neighbour (if the expression may be used) the Americans, to discover the practicability of a connexion, and of course to establish one betwixt the opposite sides of the new continent, is not likely to prove altogether fruitless, though perhaps there are still more formidable difficulties in the way of its exercise. A little time will probably demonstrate, that these politic republicans have not in vain emulated the enterprising spirit, or commercial sagacity of the parent state; and that neither of the other governments just now mentioned, has fully profited of all the advantages which its possessions have continued to hold out. —E.

The dimensions of the larger were as follow :

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| From the snout to the end of the tail - - | 7 | 2 |
| From the snout to the shoulder-bone - - | 2 | 3 |
| Height of the shoulder - - - - | 4 | 3 |
| Circumference near the fore-legs - - - | 4 | 10 |
| Breadth of the fore-paw - - - - | | 10 |

| | lb. |
|---|---|
| Weight of the four quarters - - - | 436 |
| Weight of the four quarters of the smallest - | 256 |

On comparing the dimensions of this with Lord Mulgrave's white bear, they were found almost exactly the same, except in the circumference, where our's fell exceedingly short.

These animals afforded us a few excellent meals of fresh meat. The flesh had, indeed, a strong filthy taste, but was in every respect infinitely superior to that of the sea-horse; which nevertheless our people were again persuaded, without much difficulty, to prefer to their salted provisions.

At six in the morning of the 20th, a thick fog coming on, we lost sight of the ice for two hours; but the weather clearing, we saw the main body again to the S.S.E., when we hauled our wind, which was easterly, toward it, in the expectation of making the American coast to the S.E., and which we effected at half past ten. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 33′, and longitude 194° 53′, and the depth of water nineteen fathoms. The land extended from S. by E. to S.S.W. ½ W., distant eight or ten leagues, being the same we had seen last year; but it was now much more covered with snow than at that time, and to all appearance the ice adhered to the shore. We continued in the afternoon sailing through a sea of loose ice, and standing toward the land, as near as the wind, which was E.S.E., would admit. At eight the wind lessening, there came on a thick fog, and on perceiving a rippling in the water, we tried the current, which we found to set to the E.N.E., at the rate of a mile an hour, and therefore determined to steer during the night before the wind, in order to stem it, and to oppose the large fragments of loose ice that were setting us on toward the land. The depth of the water at midnight was twenty fathoms.

At

At eight in the morning of the 21st, the wind freshening, and the fog clearing away, we saw the American coast to the S.E., at the distance of eight or ten leagues, and hauled in for it; but were stopped again by the ice, and obliged to bear away to the westward, along the edge of it. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 34′, and longitude 193°, and the depth of water twenty-four fathoms.

Thus a connected solid field of ice, rendering every effort we could make to a nearer approach to the land fruitless, and joining as we judged to it, we took a last farewell of a N.E passage to Old England. I shall beg leave to give, in Captain Clerke's own words, the reasons of this his final determination, as well as of his future plans; and this the rather, as it is the last transaction his health permitted him to write down.

"It is now impossible to proceed the least farther to the northward upon this coast (America); and it is equally as improbable that this amazing mass of ice should be dissolved by the few remaining summer-weeks which will terminate this season; but it will continue, it is to be believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt we can possibly make. I therefore think it the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, to trace the sea over to the Asiatic coast, and to try if I can find any opening, that will admit me farther north; if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast; where I hope, yet cannot much flatter myself, to meet with better success; for the sea is now so choaked with ice, that a passage, I fear, is totally out of the question."

SECTION

## SECTION IV.

*Fruitless Attempts to penetrate through the Ice to the North-West.—Dangerous Situation of the Discovery.—Sea-horses killed.—Fresh Obstructions from the Ice.—Report of Damages received by the Discovery.—Captain Clerke's Determination to proceed to the Southward.—Joy of the Ships' Crews on that Occasion.—Pass Serdze Kamen.—Return through Beering's Strait.—Enquiry into the Extent of the North-East Coast of Asia.—Reasons for rejecting Muller's Map of the Promontory of the Tschutski.—Reasons for believing the Coast does not reach a higher Latitude than* 70½° *North.—General Observations on the Impracticability of a North-East or North-West Passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean.—Comparative View of the Progress made in the Years* 1778 *and* 1779.*—Remarks on the Sea and Sea coasts, North of Beering's Strait.—History of the Voyage resumed.—Pass the Island of St Laurence.—The Island of Mednoi.—Death of Captain Clerke.—Short Account of his Services.*

CAPTAIN CLERKE having determined, for the reasons assigned, to give up all farther attempts on the coast of America, and to make his last efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the opposite continent, we continued during the afternoon of the 21st of July, to steer to the W.N.W., through much loose ice. At ten at night, discovering the main body of it through the fog, right ahead, and almost close to us, and being unwilling to take a southerly course so long as we could possibly avoid it, we hauled our wind, which was easterly, and stood to the northward; but in an hour after, the weather clearing up, and finding ourselves surrounded by a compact field of ice on every side, except to the S.S.W., we tacked and stood on in that direction, in order to get clear of it.

At noon of the 22d, our latitude, by observation, was 69° 30′, and longitude 187° 30′. In the afternoon we again came up with the ice, which extended to the N.W. and S.W., and obliged us to continue our course to the southward, in order to weather it.

It may be remarked, that, since the 8th of this month, we

we had twice traversed this sea, in lines nearly parallel with the run we had just now made; that in the first of those traverses we were not able to penetrate so far north, by eight or ten leagues, as in the second; and that in the last we had again found an united body of ice, generally about five leagues to the southward of its position in the preceding run. As this proves that the large compact fields of ice, which we saw, were moveable, or diminishing, at the same time, it does not leave any well-founded expectations of advancing much farther in the most favourable seasons.

At seven in the evening, the weather being hazy, and no ice in sight, we bore away to the westward; but at half past eight the fog dispersing, we found ourselves in the midst of loose ice, and close in with the main body; we therefore stood upon a wind, which was still easterly, and kept beating to windward during the night, in hopes of weathering the loose pieces, which the freshness of the wind kept driving down upon us in such quantities, that we were in manifest danger of being blocked up by them.

In the morning of the 23d, the clear water, in which we continued to stand to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was every instant lessening. At length, after using our utmost endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were driven to the necessity of forcing the passage to the southward, which at half past seven we accomplished, but not without subjecting the ship to some very severe shocks. The Discovery was less successful. For at eleven, when they had nigh got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces, that her way was stopped, and immediately dropping bodily to leeward, she fell broadside foremost, on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and having at the same time an open sea to windward, the surf caused her to strike violently upon it. This mass at length either so far broke, or moved, as to set them at liberty to make another trial to escape; but unfortunately before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she again fell to leeward on another fragment; and the swell making it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no chance of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furled their sails, and made fast with ice-hooks.

In this dangerous situation we saw them at noon, about three miles from us, bearing N.W., a fresh gale from the

S.E.

S.E. driving more ice to the N.W., and increasing the body that lay between us. Our latitude, by account, was 69° 8′, the longitude 187°, and the depth of water twenty-eight fathoms. To add to the gloomy apprehensions which began to force themselves on us, at half past four in the afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the Discovery; but that we might be in a situation to afford her every assistance in our power, we kept standing on close by the edge of the ice. At six, the wind happily coming round to the north, gave us some hopes that the ice might drift away and release her; and in that case, as it was uncertain in what condition she might come out, we kept firing a gun every half hour, in order to prevent a separation. Our apprehensions for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns in answer to ours; and soon after being hailed by her, were informed that upon the change of wind the ice began to separate; and that setting all their sails, they forced a passage through it. We learned farther, that whilst they were encompassed by it, they found the ship drift with the main body to the N.E., at the rate of half a mile an hour. We were sorry to find that the Discovery had rubbed off a great deal of the sheathing from her bows, and was become very leaky, from the strokes she had received when she fell upon the edge of the ice.

On the 24th we had fresh breezes from the S.W., with hazy weather, and kept running to the S.E. till eleven in the forenoon, when a large body of loose ice, extending from N.N.E. round by the E., to S.S.E., and to which (though the weather was tolerably clear) we could see no end, again obstructed our course. We therefore kept working to windward, and at noon our latitude, by observation, was 68° 53′, longitude 188°; the variation of the compass 22° 30′ E. At four in the afternoon it became calm, and we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in prodigious herds on every side of us. We killed ten of them, which were as many as we could make use of for eating, or for converting into lamp-oil. We kept on with the wind from the S.W., along the edge of the ice, which extended in a direction almost due E. and W., till four in the morning of the 25th, when observing a clear sea beyond it to the S.E., we made sail that way, with a view of forcing through it. By six we had cleared it, and continued the remainder

remainder of the day running to the S.E., without any ice in sight. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° 38′, longitude 189° 9′, and the depth of water thirty fathoms. At midnight we tacked and stood to the westward, with a fresh gale from the S.; and at ten in the forenoon of the 26th, the ice again shewed itself, extending from N.W. to S. It appeared loose, and drifting by the force of the wind to the northward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° N., longitude 188° 10′ E.; and we had soundings with twenty-eight fathoms. For the remaining part of the day, and till noon of the 27th, we kept standing backward and forward, in order to clear ourselves of different bodies of ice. At noon we were in latitude, by observation, 67° 47′, longitude 188°. At two in the afternoon, we saw the continent to the S. by E.; and at four, having run since noon with a S.S.E. wind to the S.W., we were surrounded by loose masses of ice, with the firm body of it in sight, stretching in a N. by W. and a S. by E. direction, as far as the eye could reach; beyond which we saw the coast of Asia, bearing S. and S. by E.

As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, Captain Clerke sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the Discovery, to enquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned in the evening, with the report of Captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to go into some port.

Thus, finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a passage. This, therefore, added to the representations of Captain Gore, determined Captain Clerke not to lose more time in what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay, to repair our damages there; and before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts toward discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan.

I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as Captain Clerke's

Clerke's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction, which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's-end.

On the 28th, we kept working to windward with a fresh breeze from the S.E., having the coast of Asia still in sight. At four in the morning, the cape, which, on the authority of Muller, we have called Serdze Kamen, bore S.S.W., distant six or seven leagues. We saw in different places, upon the tops of the hills, which rise inland on both sides of the cape, protuberances of a considerable height, which had the appearance of huge rocks, or pillars of stone.

On the 29th, the wind still continuing contrary, we made but slow progress to the southward. At midnight we had thick foggy weather, accompanied with a breeze from the N.N.W., with which we directed our course to the S.S.E. through the strait, and had no land in sight till seven in the evening of the 30th, when the fog clearing away, we saw Cape Prince of Wales bearing S. by E., distant about six leagues; and the island St Diomede, S.W. by W. We now altered our course to the W., and at eight made the east cape, which at midnight bore W. by N., distant four leagues. In the night we steered to the S.S.W., with a fresh west-north-westerly breeze; and at four in the morning of the 31st, the east cape bore N.N.E.; and the N.E. part of the bay of St Laurence (where we anchored the last year) W. by S., its distance being four leagues. As we could not have worked up to windward without a greater waste of time than the object appeared to deserve, we ran across the bay, regretting much, as we passed along, the loss of this opportunity of paying a second visit to the Tschutski. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 65° 6′, and longitude 189°. The south point of the bay of St Laurence bore N. by W. ¼ W., and was distant seven or eight leagues. In the afternoon, the variation was found to be 22° 50′ E.

Having now passed Beering's Strait, and taken our final leave of the N.E. coast of Asia, it may not be improper, on this

this occasion, to state the grounds on which we have ventured to adopt two general conclusions respecting its extent, in opposition to the opinions of Mr Muller. The first, that the promontory named East Cape, is actually the easternmost point of that quarter of the globe; or, in other words, that no part of the continent extends in longitude beyond 190° 22′ E.; the second, that the latitude of the north-easternmost extremity falls to the southward of 70° N. With respect to the former, if such land exist, it must necessarily be to the N. of latitude 69°, where the discoveries made in the present voyage terminate; and, therefore, the probable direction of the coast, beyond this point, is the question I shall endeavour, in the first place, to investigate.

As the Russian is the only nation that has hitherto navigated these seas, all our information respecting the situation of the coast to the northward of Cape North, must necessarily be derived from the charts and journals of the persons who have been employed at various times in ascertaining the limits of that empire; and these are for the most part so imperfect, so confused, and contradictory, that it is not easy to form any distinct idea of their pretended, much less to collect the amount of their real discoveries. It is on this account, that the extent and form of the peninsula, inhabited by the Tschutski, still remains a point on which the Russian geographers are much divided. Mr Muller, in his map, published in the year 1754, supposes this country to extend toward the N.E., to the 75° of latitude, and in longitude 190° E. of Greenwich, and to terminate in a round cape, which he calls Tschukotskoi Noss. To the southward of this cape he conceives the coast to form a bay to the westward, bounded in latitude 67° 18′, by Serdze Kamen, the northernmost point seen by Beering in his expedition in the year 1728. The map published by the academy of St Petersburgh, in the year 1776, gives the whole peninsula entirely a new form, placing its north-easternmost extremity in the latitude of 73°, longitude 178° 30′. The easternmost point in latitude 65° 30′, longitude 189° 30′. All the other maps we saw, both printed and in manuscript, vary between these two, apparently more according to the fancy of the compiler, than on any grounds of more accurate information. The only point in which there is a general coincidence, without any considerable variation,

tion, is in the position of the east cape in latitude 66°. The form of the coast, both to the S. and N. of this cape, in the map of the academy, is exceedingly erroneous, and may be totally disregarded. In that of Mr Muller, the coast to the northward bears a considerable resemblance to our survey, as far as the latter extends, except that it does not trend sufficiently to the westward, receding only about 5° of longitude, between the latitude of 66° and 69°; whereas in reality it recedes near ten. Between the latitude of 69° and 74°, he makes the coast bend round to the N. and N.E., and to form a considerable promontory. On what authority now remains to be examined.

Mr Coxe, whose accurate researches into this subject give his opinion great weight, is persuaded that the extremity of the Noss in question was never passed but by Deshneff and his party, who sailed from the river Kovyma in the year 1648, and are supposed to have got round it into the Anadir. As the account of this expedition, the substance of which the reader will find in Mr Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries, contains no geographical delineation of the coast along which they sailed, its position must be conjectured from incidental circumstances; and from these it appears very manifest, that the Tschukotskoi Noss of Deshneff is no other than the promontory called by Captain Cook the East Cape. Speaking of the Noss, he says, "One might sail from the isthmus to the river Anadir, with a fair wind, in three days and three nights." This exactly coincides with the situation of the East Cape, which is about one hundred and twenty leagues from the mouth of the Anadir; and as there is no other isthmus to the northward between that and the latitude of 69°, it is obvious that, by this description, he must intend either the cape in question, or some other to the southward of it. In another place he says, "Over against the isthmus there are two islands in the sea, upon which were seen people of the Tschutski nation, through whose lips were run pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse." This again perfectly agrees with the two islands situated to the S.E. of the East Cape. We saw indeed no inhabitants on them, but it is not at all improbable that a party of the Americans from the opposite continent, whom this description accurately suits, might, at that time, have been accidentally there; and whom it

was

was natural enough for him to mistake for a tribe of the Tschutski.[1]

These two circumstances are of so striking and unequivocal a nature, that they appear to me conclusive on the point of the Tschukotskoi Noss, notwithstanding there are others of a more doubtful kind, which we have from the same authority, and which now remain to be considered. "To go," says Deshneff in another account, "from the Kovyma to the Anadir, a great promontory must be doubled, which stretches very far into the sea;" and afterwards, "this promontory stretches between N. and N.E." It was probably from the expressions contained in these passages that Mr Muller was induced to give the country of the Tschutski the form we find in his map; but had he been acquainted with the situation of the east cape, as ascertained by Captain Cook, and the remarkable coincidence between it and this promontory or isthmus, (for it must be observed, that Deshneff appears to be all along speaking of the same thing), in the circumstances already mentioned, I am confident he would not have thought those expressions, merely by themselves, of sufficient weight to warrant him in extending the north-eastern extremity of Asia, either so far to the north or to the eastward. For, after all, these expressions are not irreconcilable with the opinion we have adopted, if we suppose Deshneff to have taken these bearings from the small bight which lies to the westward of the cape.

The deposition of the Cossack Popoff, taken at the Anadirskoi

[1] From the circumstance, related in the last volume, that gave name to Sledge Island, it appears that the inhabitants of the adjacent continents visit occasionally the small islands lying between them, probably for the conveniency of fishing, or in pursuit of furs.

It appears also from Popoff's deposition, which I shall have occasion to speak of more particularly hereafter, that the general resemblance between the people, who are seen in these islands, and the Tschutski, was sufficient to lead Deshneff into the error of imagining them to be the same. "Opposite to the Noss," he says, "is an island of moderate size, without trees, whose inhabitants *resemble in their exterior the Tschutski, although they are quite another nation;* not numerous, indeed, yet speaking their own particular language." Again, "One may go in a baidare from the Noss to the island in half a day; beyond is a great continent, which can be discovered from the island in serene weather. When the weather is good, one may go from the island to the continent in a day. *The inhabitants of the continent are similar to the Tschutski, excepting that they speak another language.*"

dirskoi ostrog in the year 1711, seems to have been the next authority on which Mr Muller has proceeded; and beside these two, I am not acquainted with any other. This Cossack, together with several others, was sent by land to demand tribute from the independent Tschutski tribes, who lived about the Noss. The first circumstance in the account of this journey that can lead to the situation of Tschukotskoi Noss, is its distance from Anadirsk; and this is stated to be ten weeks' journey with loaded rein-deer; on which account, it is added, their day's journey was but very small. It is impossible to conclude much from so vague an account; but, as the distance between the east cape and the ostrog is upward of two hundred leagues in a straight line, and therefore may be supposed to allow twelve or fifteen miles a day, its situation cannot be reckoned incompatible with Popoff's calculation. The next circumstance mentioned in this deposition is, that their route lay by the foot of a rock called Matkol, situated at the bottom of a great gulf. This gulf Muller supposes to be the bay he had laid down between latitude 66° and 72°; and accordingly places the rock Matkol in the centre of it; but it appears equally probable, even if we had not so many reasons to doubt the existence of that bay, that it might be some part of the gulf of Anadir, which they would undoubtedly touch upon in their road from the ostrog to the east cape.

But what seems to put this matter beyond all dispute, and to prove that the cape visited by Popoff cannot be to the northward of 69° latitude, is, that part of his deposition, which I have already quoted, relative to the island lying off the Noss, from whence the opposite continent might be seen. For as the two continents in latitude 69°, have diverged so far as to be more than three hundred miles distant, it is highly improbable that the Asiatic coast should again trend in such a manner to the eastward, as to come nearly within sight of the coast of America.

If these arguments should be deemed conclusive against the existence of the peninsula of the Tschutski, as laid down by Muller, it will follow that the east cape is the Tschukotskoi Noss of the [2] more early Russian navigators; and

[2] I mention the more early Russian navigators, because Beering, whom we have also followed, and after him all the late Russian geographers, have

and, consequently, that the undescribed coast from the latitude of 69° to the mouth of the river Kovyma, must uniformly trend more or less to the westward. As an additional proof of this, it may be remarked, that the Tschukotskoi Noss is always represented as dividing the sea of Kovyma from that of Anadir, which could not be the case, if any considerable cape had projected to the N.E. in the higher latitudes. Thus, in the depositions taken at Anadirsk, it is related, "that opposite the Noss, on both sides, as well in the sea of Kovyma, as in that of Anadir, an island is said to be seen at a great distance, which the Tschutski call a large country; and say that people dwell there who have large teeth put in their mouths that project through their cheeks." Then follows a description of these people and their country, exactly corresponding with our accounts of the opposite continent.

The last question that arises is, to what degree of northern latitude this coast extends, before it trends more directly to the westward. If the situation of the mouth of the Kovyma, both with respect to its latitude and longitude, were accurately determined, it would perhaps not be very difficult to form a probable conjecture upon this point. Captain Cook was always strongly of opinion that the northern coast of Asia, from the Indigirka eastward, has hitherto been generally laid down more than two degrees to the northward of its true position; and he has, therefore, on the authority of a map that was in his possession, and on the information he received at Oonalashka, placed the mouth of the river Kovyma, in his chart of the N.W. coast of America, and the N.E. coast of Asia, in the latitude of 68°. Should he be right in this conjecture, it is probable, for the reasons that have been already stated, that the Asiatic coast does not any where exceed 70°, before it trends to the westward; and consequently, that we were within 1° of its north-eastern extremity. For, if the continent be supposed to stretch any where to the northward of Shelatskoi Noss, it is scarcely possible that so extraordinary a circumstance should not have been mentioned by the Russian navigators; and we have already shewn that they make mention of no remarkable promontory between the Kovyma

have given this name to the S.E. cape of the peninsula of the Tschutski, which was formerly called the Anadirskoi Noss.

vyma and the Anadir, except the east cape. Another circumstance, related by Deshneff, may, perhaps, be thought a further confirmation of this opinion, namely, that he met with no impediment from ice in navigating round the N.E. extremity of Asia; though, he adds, that this sea is not always so free from it, as indeed is manifest from the failure of his first expedition, and since that, from the unsuccessful attempts of Shalauroff, and the obstacles we met with, in two different years, in our present voyage.[3]

The continent left undetermined in our chart between Cape North, and the mouth of the Kovyma is, in longitudinal extent, one hundred and twenty-five leagues. One-third, or about forty leagues, of this distance, from the Kovyma eastward, was explored in the year 1723, by a *sinbojarskoi* of Jakutz, whose name was Feodor Amossoff, by whom Mr Muller was informed, that its direction was to the eastward. It is said to have been since accurately surveyed by Shalauroff, whose chart makes it trend to the N.E. by E., as far as the Shelatskoi Noss, which he places about forty-three leagues to the eastward of the Kovyma. The space between this Noss and Cape North, about eighty-two leagues, is therefore the only part of the Russian empire that now remains unascertained.

But if the river Kovyma be erroneously situated with respect to its longitude, as well as in its latitude, a supposition

[3] It ought, however, to be recollected, that though Shalauroff is conceived never to have doubled Shelatskoi Noss, he nevertheless does not appear to have considered there was any particular difficulty in doing so. In his first attempt to sail from the Kovyma to the Eastern Ocean, he was necessitated, by contrary winds, and the too far advanced season of the year, to seek for a watering-place, before having reached that cape. In the following year, again, he was frustrated by want of provisions, and a mutiny of his crew, which forced him to return to the Lena. The progress of his last enterprise is somewhat uncertain, as neither he nor any of his crew ever returned. But there are tolerably good reasons for believing, that, at all events, he had surmounted the navigation of this cape, if not for the opinion, that he actually accomplished the chief object of his voyage, by bringing his vessel to the mouth of the Anadir, where, it is on the whole most probable, they were killed by the Tschutski. This last circumstance, however, it is to be allowed Mr Coxe, affords no decisive proof that they had doubled the eastern extremity of Asia, for it is possible they might have reached the Anadir by a journey over land. After all, then, we are forced to revert to Deshneff's voyage as the solitary evidence, and that too but imperfectly elucidated, of the practicability of reaching the Eastern Ocean from the north coast of Asia.—E.

tion for which probable grounds are not wanting, the extent of the unexplored coast will become proportionably diminished. The reasons which incline me to believe that the mouth of this river is placed in the Russian charts much too far to the westward, are as follow: First, because the accounts that are given of the navigation of the Frozen Sea from that river, round the N.E. point of Asia to the gulf of Anadir, do not accord with the supposed distance between those places. Secondly, because the distance over land from the Kovyma to the Anadir is represented by the early Russian travellers as a journey easily performed, and of no very extraordinary length. Thirdly, because the coast from the Shelatskoi Noss of Shalauroff[4] seems to trend directly S.E. to the East Cape. If this be so, it will follow, that as we were probably not more than 1° to the southward of Shelatskoi Noss, only sixty miles of the Asiatic coast remain unascertained.[5]

Had Captain Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a second attempt, the impracticability of a N.E. or N.W. passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtless have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obstacles which defeated

[4] See chart in Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries.

[5] Here, it is not unlikely, some readers will feel regret, that a greater sacrifice was not made, or a longer continued effort practised, or a renewed attempt hazarded, in order to overcome so inconsiderable a space, and so to double Shelatskoi Noss, whence, it may be thought, there could have been comparatively little difficulty in prosecuting the object of the voyage. The feeling is not unreasonable, provided it be not made the basis of any thing like censure on the management of the undertaking; in which case, it must soon give way to the conviction of the superior good sense, and the higher interest (excluding altogether, which is manifestly inhuman, every concern for the persons immediately engaged in the enterprise) displayed by the determination to abandon the attempt. To the force of this conviction, it may be necessary to add the very material consideration, that, even had it been any way practicable to double the cape in question, and to reach the Lena in the same track as Shalauroff, there would have still remained the space betwixt that river and Archangel, which, though undoubtedly to a great degree explored, does not appear to have been ever altogether navigated. To the merely fanciful caviller at the result of this attempt, it would be a prostitution of time and patience, even if one had both in the requisite quantity, to offer a reply. But the observations which Captain King immediately makes on this subject, will probably obviate any objection which the most sanguine mind will be disposed to entertain, and perhaps there was little occasion to subjoin a single remark to his opinion.—E.

feated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his observations on a subject of such magnitude, and which had engaged the attention and divided the opinions of philosophers and navigators for upward of two hundred years. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the task of supplying this deficiency; but that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly disappointed, I must beg his candid acceptance of the following observations, as well as of those I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the N.E. coast of Asia.

The evidence that has been so fully and judiciously stated in the introduction, amounts to the highest degree of probability that a N.W. passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, cannot exist to the southward of 65° of latitude. If then there exist a passage, it must be either through Baffin's Bay, or round by the north of Greenland, in the western hemisphere, or else through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on whichever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Strait. The impracticability of penetrating into the Atlantic on either side, through the strait, is therefore all that remains to be submitted to the consideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the sea to the north of Beering's Strait is clearer of ice in August than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be still more free. But after the equinox the days shorten so fast, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow so great an effect to the warm weather in the first half of September, as to imagine it capable of dispersing the ice from the most northern parts of the American coast. But admitting this to be possible, it must at least be granted, that it would be madness to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay, (a distance of four hundred and twenty leagues), in so short a time as that passage can be supposed to continue open.[6]



[6] This is the only point on which it seems possible to question the reasoning of Captain King, and that altogether on the ground of Mr M'Kenzie's discovery, which of course was not known to that officer. In virtue of that discovery, it seems obvious enough, that the implied necessity of the run from the Icy Cape to Baffin's Bay in one short season, according to the above argument, is reduced; though it would be erroneous to say, that

Upon the Asiatic side, there appears still less probability of success, both from what came to our own knowledge, with respect to the state of the sea to the southward of Cape North, and also from what we learn from the experience of the [7] lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauroff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia.

The voyage of Deshneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the possibility of passing round the N.E. point of Asia; but when the reader reflects that near a century and a half has elapsed since the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of great curiosity and enterprize, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not entertain very sanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even suppose, that in some singularly favourable season a ship has found a clear passage round the coast of Siberia, and is safely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, still there remains the Cape of Taimura, stretching to the 78° of latitude, which the good fortune of no single voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are strong reasons for believing that the sea is more free from ice the nearer we approach to the Pole; and that all the ice we saw in the lower latitudes was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate sea. But even if that supposition be true, it is equally so, that there can be no access to those open seas, unless this great mass of ice is so far dissolved in the summer as to admit of a ship's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this passage, which should have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reasons may be given against such a supposition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground we had reason to doubt whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed

that the importance of the discovery is such as very materially to modify the occasion for so great a navigation at one stretch. But enough perhaps has been said on a subject, which can scarcely be expected to claim more attention than it has done already, or which, if it be yet destined to prompt to farther undertakings, will do so for some such reasons, and on such grounds, as were formerly adverted to.—E.

[7] See Gmelin, pages 369, 374.

agreed with the stories we heard in Kamtschatka, that on the Siberian coast they go out from the shore in winter upon the ice to greater distances than the breadth of the sea is in some parts from one continent to the other.

In the depositions referred to above, the following remarkable circumstance is related. Speaking of the land seen from the Tschukotskoi Noss, it is said, "that in summer time they sail in one day to the land in baidares, a sort of vessel constructed of whale-bone, and covered with seal-skins; and in winter time, going swift with rein-deer, the journey may be likewise made in one day." A sufficient proof that the two countries were usually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr Muller of one of the expeditions undertaken to discover a supposed island in the Frozen Sea, is still more remarkable. "In the year 1714, a new expedition was prepared from Jakutzk, for the same place, under the command of Alexei Markoff, who was to sail from the mouth of the Jana; and if the *Schitiki* were not fit for sea-voyages, he was to construct, at a proper place, vessels fit for prosecuting the discoveries without danger.

"On his arrival at Ust-janskoe Simovie, the port at which he was to embark, he sent an account, dated February 2, 1715, to the Chancery of Jakutzk, mentioning that it was impossible to navigate the sea, as it was continually frozen both in summer and winter; and that consequently the intended expedition was no otherwise to be carried on but with sledges drawn by dogs. In this manner he accordingly set out, with nine persons, on the 10th of March the same year, and returned on the 3d of April, to Ust-janskoe Simovie. The account of his journey is as follows: That he went seven days as fast as his dogs could draw him, (which, in good ways and weather, is eighty or a hundred wersts in a day) directly towards the north, upon the ice, without discovering any island; that it had not been possible for him to proceed any farther, the ice rising there in the sea like mountains; that he had climbed to the top of some of them, whence he was able to see to a great distance round about him, but could discern no appearance of land; and that at last wanting food for his dogs, many of them died, which obliged him to return."

Besides these arguments, which proceed upon an admission

sion of the hypothesis, that the ice in those seas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to suspect the truth of the hypothesis itself. Captain Cook, whose opinion respecting the formation of ice had formerly coincided with that of the theorists we are now controverting, found abundant reason, in the present voyage, for changing his sentiments. We found the coast of each continent to be low, the soundings gradually decreasing toward them, and a striking resemblance between the two; which, together with the description Mr Hearne gives of the copper-mine river, afford reason to conjecture, that whatever rivers may empty themselves into the Frozen Sea, from the American continent, are of the same nature with those on the Asiatic side, which are represented to be so shallow at the entrance, as to admit only small vessels; whereas the ice we have seen rises above the level of the sea to a height equal to the depth of those rivers, so that its entire height must be at least ten times greater.

The curious reader will also, in this place, be led naturally to reflect on another circumstance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of those who imagine land to be necessary for the formation of ice; I mean the different state of the sea about Spitsbergen, and to the north of Beering's Strait. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to pass, that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to near 80° N. latitude; whereas, on the other side, his utmost efforts have not been able to carry him beyond 71°; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly E. and W., and where there is no land yet known to exist near the Pole. For the farther satisfaction of the reader on this point, I shall beg leave to refer him to *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, by Dr Forster, where he will find the question of the formation of ice fully and satisfactorily discussed, and the probability of open polar seas disproved by a variety of powerful arguments.[8]

I shall conclude these remarks with a short comparative view

[8] The reader may recollect that his attention was formerly directed to the same work, and for the same reason. It ought now to be remarked, that the subject has very recently attracted much attention by the additional enquiries and observations of Mr Scoresby, as communicated to the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh, and which are likely to lead to some important results.—E.

view of the progress we made to the northward, at the two different seasons we were engaged in that pursuit, together with a few general observations relative to the sea, and the coasts of the two continents, which lie to the north of Beering's Strait.

It may be observed, that in the year 1778 we did not meet with the ice till we advanced to the latitude of 70°, on August 17th, and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the whole was moveable, since, by its drifting down upon us, we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north, between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude 69° and 70°, frequently encountering in this tract large and extensive fields of ice; and though, by reason of the fogs and thickness of the weather, we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of 70°, whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude 69¾°, and longitude 184°, we were obstructed by it in such quantities, as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the S.S.W., till we saw land, which we afterward found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprize for that time.

In this second attempt we could do little more than confirm the observations we had made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude 67°, nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of 68° and 68° 20′, that were not seen the last year. We were now obstructed by ice 3° lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward were principally confined to the mid-space between the two coasts. We penetrated near 3° farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with the ice both years sooner, and in greater quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced N., we still found the ice more compact and solid; yet, as in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered

covered with it, we conjectured that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations, we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the S.W. than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling, that no conclusions respecting the existence of any passage to the northward could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at 28°, and very commonly at 30°; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we had some high winds, all of which came from the S.W. We were subject to fogs whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.[9]

The straits between the two continents, at their nearest approach in latitude 66°, were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to N.E. by E. and W.N.W.; and in latitude 69°, they become 14° of longitude, or about one hundred leagues asunder. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries, to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom in the middle was a soft slimy mud, and on drawing near to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was came from the westward.

But it is now time to resume the narrative of our voyage, which was broken off on the 31st of July, on which day at noon

[9] It is worth while to remember that a corresponding observation as to the comparative prevalence of fogs during a northerly wind, was made in Cook's second voyage when navigating in a high south latitude.—E.

noon we had advanced eighteen leagues to the southward of the East Cape.

We had light airs from the S.W., till noon of the 1st of August, at which time our latitude, by observation, was 64° 23′, longitude 189° 15′; the coast of Asia extended from N.W. by W. to W. ½ S, distant about twelve leagues; and the land to the eastward of St Laurence bore S. ½ W. On the 2d, the weather becoming clear, we saw the same land at noon, bearing from W.S.W. ½ W. to S.E., making in a number of high hummocks, which had the appearance of separate islands; the latitude, by observation, was 64° 3′, longitude 189° 28′, and depth of water seventeen fathoms. We did not approach this land sufficiently near to determine whether it was one island, or composed to a cluster together. Its westernmost part we passed July 3d, in the evening, and then supposed to be the island of St Laurence; the easternmost we ran close by in September last year, and this we named Clerke's Island, and found it to consist of a number of high cliffs, joined together by very low land. Though we mistook the last year those cliffs for separate islands, till we approached very near the shore, I should still conjecture that the island Saint Laurence was distinct from Clerke's Island, since there appeared a considerable space between them, where we could not perceive the smallest rising of ground.[10] In the afternoon we also saw what bore the appearance of a small island to the N.E. of the land which was seen at noon, and which, from the haziness of the weather, we had only sight of once. We estimated its distance to be nineteen leagues from the island of St Laurence, in a N.E. by E. ½ E. direction. On the 3d, we had light variable winds, and directed our course round the N.W. point of the island of Saint Laurence. On the 4th, at noon, our latitude by account was 64° 8′, longitude 188°; the island Saint Laurence bearing S. ½ E., distant seven leagues. In the afternoon, a fresh breeze springing up from the E., we steered to the S.S.W., and soon lost sight of Saint Laurence. On the 7th, at noon, the latitude by observation was 59° 38′, longitude 183°. In the afternoon it fell calm, and we got a great number of cod in seventy-eight fathoms of water. The variation was found to be

[10] But this opinion is not admitted by Mr Arrowsmith, who has given but one island in this position, as we have already mentioned.—E.

be 19° E. From this time to the 17th, we were making the best of our way to the S., without any occurrence worth remarking, except that the wind coming from the western quarter, forced us farther to the eastward than we wished, as it was our intention to make Beering's Island.

On the 17th, at half-past four in the morning, we saw land to the N.W., which we could not approach, the wind blowing from that quarter. At noon, the latitude by observation was 53° 49′, longitude 168° 5′, and variation 10° E. The land in sight bore N. by W. twelve or fourteen leagues distant. This land we take to be the island Mednoi, laid down in the Russian charts to the S.E. of Beering's Island. It is high land, and appeared clear of snow. We place it in the latitude 54° 28′, longitude 167° 52′. We got no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line.

Captain Clerke was now no longer able to get out of his bed; he therefore desired that the officers would receive their orders from me, and directed that we should proceed with all speed to Awatska Bay. The wind continuing westerly, we stood on to the S., till early on the morning of the 19th, when, after a few hours rain, it blew from the eastward, and freshened to a strong gale. We accordingly made the most of it whilst it lasted, by standing to the westward under all the sail we could carry. On the 20th, the wind shifting to the S.W., our course was to the W.N.W. At noon, the latitude by observation was 53° 7′, longitude 162° 49′. On the 21st, at half-past five in the morning, we saw a very high peaked mountain on the coast of Kamtschatka, called Cheepoonskoi Mountain, from its lying behind the Noss, bearing N.W. by N., twenty-five or thirty leagues distant. At noon, the coast extended from N. by E. to W., with a very great haziness upon it, and distant about twelve leagues. We had light airs the remaining part of this and the following day, and got no soundings with one hundred and forty fathoms of line.

On the 22d of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerke, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England, and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits which continued to the last hour,

bour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the Bellona and Courageux, where, being stationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the Dolphin, commanded by Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterward served on the American station. In 1768, he made his second voyage round the world in the Endeavour, as master's mate, and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the Resolution, of which he was appointed the second lieutenant; and soon after his return in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the Discovery, to accompany Captain Cook; and, by the death of the latter, succeeded, as has been already mentioned, to the chief command.

It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was most zealous and anxious for its success. His health, about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to encounter the rigours of a high northern climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had, in no shape, suffered by the decay of his body; and though he knew, that by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet, careful and jealous to the last degree, that a regard to his own situation should never bias his judgment to the prejudice of the service, he persevered in the search of a passage, till it was the opinion of every officer in both ships that it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would not only be fruitless but dangerous.

SECTION

## SECTION V.

*Return to the Harbour of Saint Peter and St Paul.—Promotion of Officers.—Funeral of Captain Clerke.—Damages of the Discovery repaired.—Various other Occupations of the Ships' Crews.—Letters from the Commander.—Supply of Flour and Naval Stores from a Russian Galliot.—Account of an Exile.—Bear-hunting and Fishing Parties.—Disgrace of the Serjeant.—Celebration of the King's Coronation Day, and Visit from the Commander.—The Serjeant reinstated.—A Russian Soldier promoted at our Request.—Remarks on the Discipline of the Russian Army.—Church at Paratounca.—Method of Bear-hunting.—Farther Account of the Bears and Kamtschadales.—Inscription to the Memory of Captain Clerke.—Supply of Cattle.—Entertainments on the Empress's Name Day.—Present from the Commander.—Attempt of a Marine to desert.—Work out of the Bay.—Nautical and Geographical Description of Awatska Bay.—Astronomical Tables and Observations.*

I SENT Mr Williamson to acquaint Captain Gore with the death of Captain Clerke, and received a letter from him, ordering me to use all my endeavours to keep in company with the Discovery; and, in case of a separation, to make the best of my way to the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. At noon, we were in latitude 53° 8′ N., longitude 160° 40′ E., with Cheepoonskoi Noss bearing W. We had light airs in the afternoon, which lasted through the forenoon of the 23d. At noon, a fresh breeze springing up from the eastward, we stood in for the entrance of Awatska Bay; and, at six in the evening, saw it bearing W.N.W. ½ W., distant five leagues. At eight, the light-house, in which we now found a good light, bore N.W. by W., three miles distant. The wind about this time died away; but the tide being in our favour, we sent the boats ahead, and towed beyond the narrow parts of the entrance; and, at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the ebb tide setting against us, we dropped anchor. At nine we weighed, and turned up the bay with light airs, and the boats still ahead till one; when, by the help of a fresh breeze, we anchored before three in the afternoon in the harbour of Saint Peter and

and Saint Paul, with our ensign half staff up, on account of our carrying the body of our late captain, and were soon after followed by the Discovery.

We had no sooner anchored than our old friend the serjeant, who was still the commander of the place, came on board with a present of berries, intended for our poor deceased captain. He was exceedingly affected when we told him of his death, and shewed him the coffin that contained his body. And as it was Captain Clerke's particular request to be buried on shore, and, if possible, in the church of Paratounca, we took the present opportunity of explaining this matter to the serjeant, and consulting with him about the proper steps to be taken on the occasion. In the course of our conversation, which, for want of an interpreter, was carried on but imperfectly, we learned that Professor De L'Isle and several other gentlemen who died here, had been buried in the ground near the barracks at the *ostrog* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul's; and that this place would be preferable to Paratounca, as the church was to be removed thither the next year. It was therefore determined that we should wait for the arrival of the priest of Paratounca, whom the serjeant advised us to send for, as the only person that could satisfy our enquiries on this subject. The serjeant having, at the same time, signified his intention of sending off an express to the commander at Bolcheretsk, to acquaint him with our arrival, Captain Gore availed himself of that occasion of writing him a letter, in which he requested that sixteen head of black cattle might be sent with all possible expedition. And because the commander did not understand any language except his own, the nature of our request was made known to the serjeant, who readily undertook to send, along with our letter, an explanation of its contents.

We could not help remarking, that, although the country was much improved in its appearance since we were last here, the Russians looked, if possible, worse now than they did then. It is to be owned, they observed, that this was also the case with us; and, as neither party seemed to like to be told of their bad looks, we found mutual consolation in throwing the blame upon the country, whose green and lively complexion, we agreed, cast a deadness and sallowness upon our own.

The eruption of the *volcano*, which was so violent when

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we sailed out of the bay, we found had done no damage here, notwithstanding stones had fallen at the *ostrog* of the size of a goose's egg. This was all the news we had to enquire after, and all they had to tell, excepting that of the arrival of Soposnikoff from Oonalashka, who took charge of the packet Captain Cook had sent to the Admiralty, and which, it gave us much satisfaction to find, had been forwarded.

In the morning of the 25th, Captain Gore made out the new commissions, in consequence of Captain Clerke's death, appointing himself to the command of the Resolution, and me to the command of the Discovery; and Mr Lanyan, master's mate of the Resolution, who had served in that capacity on board the Adventure in the former voyage, was promoted to the vacant lieutenancy. These promotions produced the following farther arrangements: Lieutenants Burney and Rickman were removed from the Discovery to be first and second lieutenants of the Resolution; and Lieutenant Williamson was appointed first lieutenant of the Discovery. Captain Gore also permitted me to take into the Discovery four midshipmen, who had made themselves useful to me in astronomical calculations, and whose assistance was now particularly necessary, as we had no *ephemeris* for the present year. And, that astronomical observations might continue to be made in both ships, Mr Bayley took my place in the Resolution. The same day we were visited by the Pope Romanoff Vereshagen, the worthy priest of Paratounca. He expressed his sorrow at the death of Captain Clerke in a manner that did honour to his feelings, and confirmed the account given by the serjeant respecting the intended removal of the church to the harbour, adding, that the timber was actually preparing, but leaving the choice of either place entirely to Captain Gore.

The Discovery, as has been mentioned, had suffered great damage from the ice, particularly on the 23d day of July; and having ever since been exceedingly leaky, it was imagined that some of her timbers had started. Captain Gore therefore sent the carpenters of the Resolution to assist our own in repairing her; and, accordingly, the fore-hold being cleared, to lighten her forward, they were set to work, to rip the damaged sheathing from the larboard bow. This operation discovered, that three feet of the third strake, under the wale, were staved, and the timbers within started.

started. A tent was next erected for the accommodation of such of our people as were employed on shore; and a party were sent a mile into the country, to the northward of the harbour, to fell timber. The observatories were erected at the west end of the village, near a tent in which Captain Gore and myself took up our abode.

The farther we proceeded in removing the sheathing, the more we discovered of the decayed state of the ship's hull. The next morning, eight feet of a plank in the wale were found to be so exceedingly rotten, as to make it necessary to shift it. This left us for some time at a stand, as nothing was to be found in either ship wherewith to replace it, unless we chose to cut up a top-mast, an expedient not to be had recourse to, till all others failed. The carpenters were, therefore, sent on shore in the afternoon, in search of a tree big enough for the purpose. Luckily they found a birch, which I believe was the only one of sufficient size in the whole neighbourhood of the bay, and which had been sawed down by us when we were last here; so that it had the advantage of having lain some time to season. This was shaped on the spot, and brought on board the next morning.

As the season was now so far advanced, I was fearful lest any delay or hindrance should arise, on our parts, to Captain Gore's farther views of discovery, and therefore gave orders that no more sheathing should be ripped off than was absolutely necessary for repairing the damages sustained by the ice. This I did, being apprehensive of their meeting with more decayed planks, which, I judged, had much better remain in that state, than be filled up with green birch, upon a supposition that such was to be had. All hands were at present busily employed in separate duties, that every thing might be in readiness for sea against the time our carpenters should have finished their work. We set apart four men to haul the seine for salmon, which were caught in great abundance, and found to be of an excellent quality. After supplying the immediate wants of both ships, we salted down near a hogshead a day. The invalids, who were four in number, were employed in gathering greens, and in cooking for the parties on shore. Our powder was also landed, in order to be dried; and the seahorse blubber, with which both ships, in our passage to the north, (as has been before related,) had stored themselves, was

was now boiled down for oil, which was become a necessary article, our candles having long since been expended. The cooper was fully engaged in his department; and in this manner were both ships' companies employed in their several occupations, till Saturday afternoon, which was given up to all our men, except the carpenters, for the purpose of washing their linen, and getting their clothes in some little order, that they might make a decent appearance on Sunday.

In the afternoon of that day, we paid the last offices to Captain Clerke. The officers and men of both ships walked in procession to the grave, whilst the ships fired minute-guns; and the service being ended, the marines fired three vollies. He was interred under a tree which stands on rising ground, in the valley to the north side of the harbour, where the hospital and store-houses are situated; Captain Gore having judged this situation most agreeable to the last wishes of the deceased, for the reasons above-mentioned; and the priest of Paratounca having pointed out a spot for his grave, which, he said, would be, as near as he could guess, in the centre of the new church. This reverend pastor walked in the procession along with the gentleman who read the service; and all the Russians in the garrison were assembled, and attended with great respect and solemnity.

On the 30th, the different parties returned to their respective employments, as mentioned in the course of the preceding week; and, on the 2d of September, the carpenters having shifted the rotten and damaged planks, and repaired and caulked the sheathing of the larboard bow, proceeded to rip off the sheathing that had been injured by the ice, from the starboard side. Here again they discovered four feet of a plank, in the third strake under the wale, so shaken, as to make it necessary to be replaced. This was accordingly done, and the sheathing repaired on the 3d. In the afternoon of the same day, we got on board some ballast, unhung the rudder, and sent it on shore, the lead of the pintles being found entirely worn away, and a great part of the sheathing rubbed off. As the carpenters of the Resolution were not yet wanted, we got this set to rights the next day, but finding the rudder out of all proportion heavy, even heavier than that of the Resolution, we let it remain on shore in order to dry and lighten.

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The same day an ensign arrived from Bolcheretsk with a letter from the commander to Captain Gore, which we put into the serjeant's hands, and, by his assistance, were made to understand, that orders had been given about the cattle, and that they might be expected here in the course of a few days; and, moreover, that Captain Shmaleff, the present commander, would himself pay us a visit immediately on the arrival of a sloop which was daily expected from Okotzk. The young officer who brought the letter was the son of the Captain-lieutenant Synd, who commanded an expedition on discovery, between Asia and America, eleven years ago, and resided at this time at Okotzk.[1] He informed us, that he was sent to receive our directions, and to take care to get us supplied with whatever our service might require; and that he should remain with us till the commander was himself able to leave Bolcheretsk; after which he was to return, that the garrison there might not be left without an officer.

On the 5th, the parties that were on shore returned on board, and were employed in scrubbing the ship's bottom, and getting in eight tons of shingle ballast. We also got up two of our guns that had been stowed in the fore-hold, and mounted them on the deck, being now about to visit nations, our reception amongst whom might a good deal depend on the respectability of our appearance.

The Resolution hauled on shore on the 8th, to repair some

[1] See all that is known of this voyage, and a chart of discoveries, in Mr Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America. We were not able to learn from the Russians in Kamtschatka, a more perfect account of Synd than we now find is given by Mr Coxe; and yet they seemed disposed to communicate all that they really knew. Major Behm could only inform us, in general, that the expedition had miscarried as to its object, and that the commander had fallen under much blame. It appeared evidently that he had been on the coast of America, to the southward of Cape Prince of Wales, between the latitudes 64° and 65°; and it is most probable that his having got too far to the northward to meet with sea-otters, which the Russians, in all their attempts at discoveries, seem to have principally in view, and his returning without having made any that promised commercial advantages, was the cause of his disgrace, and of the great contempt with which the Russians always spoke of this officer's voyage.

The cluster of islands placed in Synd's chart, between the latitudes of 61° and 65°, is undoubtedly the same with the island called by Beering St Laurence's, and those we named Clerke's, Anderson's, and King's Islands; but their proportionate size, and relative situation, are exceedingly erroneous.

some damage which she had also received among the ice, in her cut-water, and our carpenters in their turn were sent to her assistance.

About this time we began to brew a strong decoction of a species of dwarf-pine that grows here in great abundance, thinking that it might hereafter be useful in making beer, and that we should probably be able to procure sugar or molasses to ferment with it at Canton. At all events I was sure it would be serviceable as a medicine for the scurvy; and was more particularly desirous of supplying myself with as much of it as I could procure, because most of the preventatives we had brought out were either used, or spoiled by keeping. By the time we had prepared a hogshead of it, the ship's copper was discovered to be very thin, and cracked in many places. This obliged me to desist, and to give orders that it should be used as sparingly for the future as possible. It might, perhaps, be an useful precaution for those who may hereafter be engaged in long voyages of this kind, either to provide themselves with a spare copper, or to see that the copper usually furnished be of the strongest kind. The various extra-services, in which it will be found necessary to employ them, and especially the important one of making antiscorbutic decoctions, seem absolutely to require some such provision; and I should rather recommend the former, on account of the additional quantity of fuel that would be consumed in heating thick coppers.

In the morning of the 10th, the boats from both ships were sent to tow into the harbour a Russian galliot from Okotzk. She had been thirty-five days on her passage, and had been seen from the light-house a fortnight ago, beating up toward the mouth of the bay. At that time the crew had sent their only boat on shore for water, of which they now began to be in great want; and the wind freshening, the boat was lost on its return, and the galliot, being driven out to sea again, had suffered exceedingly.

There were fifty soldiers in her, with their wives and children, and several other passengers, besides the crew, which consisted of twenty-five, so that they had upward of an hundred souls on board. A great number for a vessel of eighty tons; and that was also heavy laden with stores and provisions. Both this galliot, and the sloop we saw here in May, are built like the Dutch doggers. Soon after she had come to anchor, we received a visit from a *put-parouchick*,

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or sub-lieutenant, who was a passenger in the galliot, and sent to take the command of this place. Part of the soldiers, we understood, were also designed to reinforce the garrison; and two pieces of small cannon were landed, as an additional defence to the town. It should seem, from these circumstances, that our visit here had drawn the attention of the Russian commanders in Siberia, to the defenceless situation of the place; and I was told by the honest serjeant, with many significant shrugs, that, as we had found our way into it, other nations might do the same, some of whom might not be altogether so welcome.[a]

Next morning the Resolution hauled off from the shore, having repaired the damages she had sustained by the ice; and, in the course of the day, we got from the galliot a small quantity of pitch, tar, cordage, and twine; canvas was the only thing we asked for, with which their scanty store did not put it into their power to supply us. We also received from her an hundred and forty skins of flour, amounting to 13,782 pounds English, after deducting five pounds for the weight of each bag.

We had a constant course of dry weather till this day, when there came on a heavy rain, accompanied with strong

 squalls

[a] By some strange anomaly in human nature, it would seem as if, in many cases, the apprehension of danger is in the inverse proportion of the amount of evil to be dreaded, or of the probability of its happening. Thus, the good people at Saint Peter and Saint Paul, who have but very little more reason to expect the intrusion of enemies, than if they dwelt in the regions of the North Pole, exhibit a remarkable degree of unnecessary suspicion on the occurrence of the most harmless, nay the most beneficial events. In addition to what is recorded in this voyage, we may mention an evidence of it in the case of Captain Krusenstern's last arrival among them, which happened sooner than they had looked for, notwithstanding his having previously intimated it. On the appearance of his vessel, the people immediately concluded it was an enemy, and some families began to fly with their effects to the neighbouring mountains. To them it seemed more natural, that some hostile power should send a vessel half round the globe in order to conquer a miserable spot, whose only riches was a few dried fish, and where a crew could scarcely subsist for two months, than that the ship in sight should belong to a friend whose arrival they had been instructed to expect. Nor were their fears quieted, till the solemn and strongly urged opinion of the soldier on duty, who, from his having been a companion of Captain Billing's, had the reputation of much knowledge in such matters, induced them to believe, that the form and rigging of the ship could be no other than those of their old acquaintance the Nadeshda!—E.

squalls of wind, which obliged us to strike our yards and topmasts.

The 12th, being Sunday, was kept as a day of rest; but the weather unfortunately continuing foul, our men could not derive the advantage from it we wished, by gathering the berries that grew in great quantities and varieties on the coast, and taking other pastime on shore. The same day Ensign Synd left us to return to Bolcheretsk with the remainder of the soldiers that came in the galliot. He had been our constant guest during his stay. Indeed we could not but consider him, on his father's account, as in some measure belonging to us, and entitled, as one of the family of discoverers, to a share in our affections.

We had hitherto admitted the serjeant to our tables, in consideration of his being commander of the place; and, moreover, because he was a quick, sensible man, and comprehended better than any other, the few Russian words we had learned. Ensign Synd had very politely suffered him to enjoy the same privileges during his stay; but, on the arrival of the new commander from Okotzk, the serjeant, for some cause or other, which we could not learn, fell into disgrace, and was no longer suffered to sit down in the company of his own officers. It was in vain to think of making any attempt to obtain an indulgence, which, though it would have been highly agreeable to us, was doubtless incompatible with their discipline.

On Wednesday we had finished the stowage of the holds, got on board all our wood and water, and were ready to put to sea at a day's notice. It is however necessary to observe, that though every thing was in this degree of readiness on board, the cattle were not yet arrived from Verchnei; and as fresh provisions were the most important article of our wants, and in a great measure necessary for the health of the men, we could not think of taking our departure without them. We therefore thought this a favourable opportunity (especially as there was an appearance of fine weather) of taking some amusement on shore, and acquiring a little knowledge of the country. Accordingly Captain Gore proposed a party of bear-hunting, which we all very readily came into.

We did not set out on this expedition till Friday the 17th, in order to give a day's rest to the Hospodin Ivaskin, a new acquaintance, that was to be of our party, and who came

came down here on Wednesday. This gentleman who, we understood, usually resides at Verchnei, had been desired by Major Behm to attend us on our return to the harbour, in order to be our interpreter; and the accounts we had heard of him before his arrival had excited in us a great curiosity to see him.

He is of a considerable family in Russia. His father was a general in the empress's service; and he himself, after having received his education partly in France, and partly in Germany, had been page to the Empress Elizabeth, and an ensign in her guards. At the age of sixteen he was *knowted,* had his nose slit, and was banished first to Siberia, and afterward to Kamtschatka, where he had now lived thirty-one years. He was a very tall thin man, with a face all over furrowed with deep wrinkles; and bore in his whole figure the strongest marks of old age, though he had scarcely reached his fifty-fourth year.

To our very great disappointment he had so totally forgotten both his German and French, as not to be able to speak a sentence, nor readily to understand what was said to him in either of these languages. We found ourselves thus unfortunately deprived of what we flattered ourselves would have turned out a favourable opportunity of getting farther information relative to this country. We had also promised ourselves much pleasure from the history of this extraordinary man, which he probably would have been induced to relate to strangers, who might perhaps be of some little service to him, but who could have no inducement to take advantage from any thing he might say to do him an injury. No one here knew the cause of his banishment, but they took it for granted that it must have been for something very atrocious, particularly as two or three commanders of Kamtschatka have endeavoured to get him recalled since the present empress's reign; but far from succeeding in this, they have not been even able to get the place of his banishment changed. He told us that for twenty years he had not tasted bread, nor had been allowed subsistence of any kind whatsoever; but that during this period he had lived among the Kamtschadales on what his own activity and toil in the chase had furnished: That afterward he had a small pension granted; and that, since Major Behm came to the command, his situation had been infinitely mended. The notice that worthy man had taken

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of him, and his having often invited him to become his guest, had been the occasion of others following his example; besides which, he had been the means of getting his pension increased to one hundred roubles a year, which is the common pay of an ensign in all parts of the empress's dominions, except in this province, where the pay of all the officers is double. Major Behm told us that he had obtained permission to take him to Okotzk, which was to be the place of his residence in future; but that he should leave him behind for the present, on an idea that he might, on our return to the bay, be useful to us as an interpreter.[3]

Having given orders to the first lieutenants of both ships, to let the rigging have such a repair as the supply of stores we had lately received would permit, we set out on our hunting party, under the direction of the corporal of the Kamtschadales, intending, before we began to look for our game, to proceed straight to the head of Behm's Harbour. It is an inlet on the west side of the bay, (which we had named after that officer, from its being a favourite place of his, and having been surveyed by himself,) and is called by the natives Tareinska.

In our way toward this harbour we met the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in a canoe, with his wife and two children, and another Kamtschadale. He had killed two seals upon a round island, that lies in the entrance of the harbour, with which, and a great quantity of berries that

[3] The singular personage here spoken of, was living near Saint Peter and Saint Paul in 1805, when Captain Krusenstern arrived there. He was at that time eighty-six years old, and had but lately obtained his liberty from the present emperor, who, besides other bounty, granted him a sum of money to cover his travelling expenses, if he chose to return to St Petersburg. The old man, however, was unable to bring his mind to undertake the journey, or even to venture the sea with Krusenstern; and in all probability, therefore, would end his days in the land of his captivity. We learn from the same authority, that Iwashkin had been banished in consequence of a report, apparently an unfounded one, that he had been engaged in a conspiracy against the Empress Elizabeth; and he is said to have been afterwards refused a pardon by Catharine, because he had been accused of murdering a man in the heat of passion. But for this circumstance, according to K., " the terms in which he is mentioned in Cook's voyage are such, as would not fail to meet with attention in Russia." These few additional particulars may add to whatever of interest is felt in Captain King's account of this exile. And even this may be enhanced to the susceptible mind by the remark, that old and worn out as Iwashkin appeared to Captain King, he nevertheless survived him at least twenty years, as the latter died at Nice, in Italy, in 1784.—E.

that he had gathered, he was returning home. As the wind had veered to the S.W., we now changed our route by his advice; and, instead of going up the harbour, directed our course to the northward, toward a pool of water that lies near the mouth of the river Paratounca, and which was a known haunt of the bears. We had scarce landed, when unfortunately the wind changed to the eastward, and a second time destroyed all hopes of coming up with our game; for the Kamtschadales assured us, that it was in vain to expect to meet with bears, whilst we were to the windward, owing to their being possessed of an uncommon acuteness in scenting their pursuers, which enabled them, under such circumstances, to avoid the danger, whilst it is yet at a very great distance. We returned therefore to the boat, and passed the night on the beach, having brought a tent with us for that purpose, and the next day, by the advice of our guides, crossed the bay, and went to the head of Rakoweena Harbour.

Having here secured the boats, we proceeded with all our luggage on foot, and, after a walk of five or six miles, came to the sea-side, a league to the northward of the light-house head. From hence, as far as we could see toward Cheepoonskoi Noss, there is a continued narrow border of low level ground adjoining to the sea, which is covered with heath, and produces great abundance of berries, particularly those called partridge and crow berries. We were told we should not fail to meet with a number of bears feeding upon those berries; but that the weather being showery, was unfavourable for us.

Accordingly we directed our course along this plain, and, though we saw several bears at a distance, we could never, with all our management, contrive to get within shot of them. Our diversion was therefore changed to spearing of salmon, which we saw pushing in great numbers through the surf into a small river. I could not help observing how much inferior our Kamtschadales were, at this method of fishing, to the people at Oonalashka; nor were their instruments, although pointed with iron, near so good for the purpose, nor to be compared in neatness to those of the Americans, though pointed only with bone. On enquiring into the reason of this inferiority, I was informed by the corporal, who had lived many years amongst the Americans, that formerly the Kamtschadales made use of the

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same kind of darts and spears with the Americans, headed and barbed with bone, and were not less dexterous in the management of them than the latter. We could not understand one another sufficiently for me to learn the cause of this change; probably it was one of the not unusual effects of a forced and imperfect state of improvement It fell out very opportunely that the water afforded us a little prey; for, besides our ill success in the chase by land, we had also been disappointed in our expectations of shooting wild fowl, on a supply of which we had in some measure depended for our subsistence; and, on its failure, began to think that we had been full long absent from head quarters.

Our Kamtschadales now discovered that the want of success in not meeting with game, was owing to the party being too large, and to the unavoidable noise that was the consequence of it. We therefore agreed to separate, Ivaskin, the corporal, and myself, forming one party, Captain Gore, and the rest of the company, the other.

Accordingly, after passing the night under our tent, we set out on the morning of the 19th, by different routes, meaning to take a circuit round the country, and meet at Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The party to which I belonged took the course of the river, at the mouth of which we had fished for the salmon; and, after being thoroughly soaked by the heavy rains that fell all the morning, we came about three in the afternoon to some old *balagans*, where a Kamtschadale village had been formerly situated, without meeting with a single bear during the whole of a long and tedious walk. It was our first intention to have remained here all night, in order to have resumed our chase early the next morning; but the weather clearing, and, at the same time, a fresh breeze springing up from a quarter unfavourable to our designs, the Hospodin, whom former sufferings had made very unfit to bear much fatigue, and who seemed at present more particularly distressed from having emptied his snuff-box, began to be very importunate with us to return home. It was some time before the old corporal consented, alleging, that we were at a great distance from the harbour, and that, on account of the badness of the way, the night would probably overtake us before we reached the end of our journey. At length, however, he yielded to Ivaskin's entreaties, and conducted us along the side

side of a number of small lakes, with which the flat part of this country seems much to abound. These lakes are from half a mile to two miles in length, and about half a mile broad; the water is fresh and clear, and they are full of a red-coloured fish, resembling, both in shape and size, a small salmon; of which a more particular description will be given hereafter. The banks of these lakes were covered with fragments of fish that the bears had half eaten, and which caused an intolerable stench. We often came upon the spots which the bears had just left, but were never able even to come within sight of them.

It was night before we reached the ships, and we had then been twelve hours upon our legs. Poor Ivaskin found himself exceedingly tired and overcome with fatigue; probably he was more sensible of it for want of a supply of snuff; for every step he took his hand dived mechanically into his pocket, and drew out his huge empty box. We had scarcely got into the tent, when the weather set in exceedingly rough and wet. We congratulated ourselves that we had not staid out another day, the Hospodin's box was replenished, and we forgot the fatigues and ill success of our expedition over a good supper.

I was exceedingly sorry, on being told the next day, that our friend the serjeant had undergone corporal punishment during our absence, by command of the old *Putparouchick*. None of our people had been able to learn what was the cause of his displeasure; but it was imagined to have arisen from some little jealousy subsisting between them, on account of the civility which we had shewn to the former. However, having every reason to believe that the offence, whatever it might be, did not call for so disgraceful a chastisement, we could not help being both sorry and much provoked at it, as the terms on which we had lived with him, and the interest we were known to take in his affairs, made the affront, in some measure, personal to ourselves; for it has not yet been mentioned, that we had consulted with the late worthy commander, Major Behm, who was also his friend, by what means we might be most likely to succeed in doing him some service for the good order he had kept in the *ostrog* during our stay, and for his readiness on all occasions to oblige us. The major advised a letter of recommendation to the governor-general, which Captain Clerke had accordingly given him, and which, backed

backed with his own representations, he had no doubt would get the serjeant advanced a step higher in his profession.

We did not choose to make any remonstrance on this subject till the arrival of Captain Shmaleff. Indeed our inability, from the want of language, to enter into any discussion of the business, made it advisable to come to this determination. However, when the *Putparouchick* paid us his next visit, we could not help testifying our chagrin by receiving him very coolly.

The 22d being the anniversary of his majesty's coronation, twenty-one guns were fired, and the handsomest feast our situation would allow of, was prepared, in honour of the day. As we were sitting down to dinner, the arrival of Captain Shmaleff was announced. This was a most agreeable surprise; in the first place, because he arrived so opportunely to partake of the good fare and festivity of the occasion; and, in the next, because, in our last accounts of him, we were given to understand, that the effects of a severe illness had made him unequal to the journey. We were glad to find this had been merely an excuse; that, in fact, he was ashamed of coming empty-handed, knowing we must be in great want of tea, sugar, &c. &c.; and that therefore he had deferred his setting out, in daily expectation of the sloop from Okotzk; but having no tidings of her, and dreading lest we should sail, without his having paid us a visit, he was determined to set out, though with nothing better to present to us than apologies for the poverty of Bolcheretsk. At the same time he acquainted us, that our not having received the sixteen head of black cattle we had desired might be sent down, was owing to the very heavy rains at Verchnei, which had prevented their setting out. We made the best answer we were able to so much politeness and generosity; and the next day, on coming on board the Resolution, he was saluted with eleven guns. Specimens of all our curiosities were presented to him, and Captain Gore added to them a gold watch and a fowling-piece.

The next day he was entertained on board the Discovery, and on the 25th he took leave of us to return to Bolcheretsk. He could not be prevailed upon to lengthen his visit, having some expectations, as he told us, that the sub-governor-general, who was at this time making a tour

through

through all the provinces of the Governor-general of Jakutzk, might arrive in the sloop that was daily expected from Okotzk. Before his departure, and without any interference of ours, he reinstated the serjeant in the command of this place, having determined to take the *Putparouchick* along with him; at the same time we understood that he was highly displeased with him on account of the punishment that had been inflicted on the serjeant, and for which there did not appear to be the slightest foundation.

Captain Shmaleff's great readiness to give us every possible proof of his desire to oblige us, encouraged us to ask a small favour for another of our Kamtschadale friends. It was to requite an old soldier, whose house had been at all times open to the inferior officers, and who had done both them and all the crew a thousand good offices. The captain most obligingly complied with our request, and dubbed him (which was all he wished for) a corporal upon the spot, and ordered him to thank the English officers for his great promotion. It may not here be improper to observe, that in the Russian army the inferior class of officers enjoy a degree of pre-eminence above the private men, with which we, in our service, are in a great measure unacquainted. It was no small astonishment to us, to see a serjeant keep up all the state, and exact all the respect from all beneath him belonging to a field-officer. It may be farther remarked, that there are many more gradations of rank amongst them than are to be met with in other countries. Between a serjeant and a private man, there are not less than four intermediate steps; and I have no doubt, but that the advantages arising from this system are found to be very considerable. The salutary effects of little subordinate ranks in our sea-service cannot be questioned. It gives rise to great emulation, and the superior officers are enabled to bestow, on almost every possible degree of merit, a reward proportioned to it.

Having been incidentally led into this subject, I shall beg leave to add but one observation more, namely, that the discipline of the Russian army, though at this distance from the seat of government, is of the strictest and severest kind, from which even the commissioned officers are not exempt. The punishment of the latter for small offences is imprisonment, and a bread and water diet. An ensign, a good friend of ours at this place, told us, that, for having

been

been concerned in a drunken riot, he was confined in the black hole for three months, and fed upon bread and water; which, he said, so shattered his nerves, that he had never since had spirits for a common convivial meeting.

I accompanied Captain Shmaleff to the entrance of Awatska River; and having bid him farewell, took this opportunity of paying a visit to the priest of Paratounca. On Sunday, the 26th, I attended him to church. The congregation consisted of his own family, three Kamtschadale men, and three boys, who assisted in singing part of the service; the whole of which was performed in a very solemn and edifying manner. The church is of wood, and by far the best building either in this town or that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. It is ornamented with many paintings, particularly with two pictures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, presented by Beering; and which, in the real richness of their drapery, would carry off the prize from the first of our European performances; for all the principal parts of it are made of thick plates of solid silver, fastened to the canvas, and fashioned into the various foldings of the robes with which the figures were clothed.

The next day, I set on foot another hunting party, and put myself under the direction of the clerk of the parish, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived by sun-set, at the side of one of the larger lakes. The next step was to conceal ourselves as much as possible; and this we were able to do effectually, among some long grass and brushwood, that grew close to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambush, before we had the pleasure to hear the growlings of bears in different parts round about us; and our expectations were soon gratified, by the sight of one of them in the water, which seemed to be swimming directly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a considerable light; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the same time. The beast immediately turned short on one side, and set up a noise, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond description. We plainly saw that it was severely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to some thick bushes at a little distance. It still continued to make the same loud and terrible noise; and though the Kamtschadales

dales were persuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it most advisable not to rouse it again for the present. It was at this time past nine o'clock; and the night becoming overcast, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it most prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curiosity till morning, when we returned to the spot, and found the bear dead, in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common size.

As the account of our first hunting-party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this sport is usually conducted, it may not be amiss to add a few more words on the subject; and which I am the better able to do since this last expedition.

When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about sun-set, the first step is to look for their tracks; to examine which are the freshest, and the best situated with a view to concealment; and taking aim at the beast, either as he is passing by, or advancing in front, or going from them. These tracks are found in the greatest numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long sedgy grass and brakes by the edge of the water. The place of ambuscade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutches, upon which their firelocks are made to rest, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their shot. This done, they kneel, or lie down, as the circumstances of the cover require; and, with their bear-spears by their side, wait for their game. These precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make sure of their mark, are, on several accounts, highly expedient. For, in the first place, ammunition is so dear at Kamtschatka, that the price of a bear will not purchase more of it than is sufficient to load a musquet four or five times; and, what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of pursuit by the first shot, the consequences are often fatal. He immediately makes toward the place from whence the noise and smoke issue, and attacks his adversaries with great fury. It is impossible for them to reload, as the animal is seldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards distance when he is fired at; so that if he does not fall, they immediately put themselves in a posture to receive him upon their spears; and their safety greatly depends on their

giving

giving him a mortal stab, as he first comes upon them. If he parries the thrust, (which, by the extraordinary strength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do,) and thereby breaks in upon his adversaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone suffice to pay the forfeit.[4]

There are two seasons of the year when this diversion, or occupation, as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous; in the spring, when the bears first come forth, after having subsisted, as is universally asserted here, on sucking their paws through the winter; and especially if the frost happen to be severe, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under these circumstances they soon become exceedingly famished, and fierce and savage in proportion. They will pursue the natives by the scent; and as they now prowl about out of their usual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtschadales have not the smallest notion of shooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a rest, the bear-hunters often fall a sacrifice to their hunger. The other season in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

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[4] It may not be ill-timed to mention here, what Captain Krusenstern says as to the scarcity of gunpowder in Kamtschatka, to which Captain King alludes in his account of bear-hunting. It is owing to the deficiency of this article, that the inhabitants are so seldom provided with certain luxuries of the table, as the wild sheep, or *argalis*, rein-deer, hares, ducks, and geese, with most or all of which the country is tolerably well stocked. The conveyance of this most useful material from the provinces of European Russia, is both difficult and exposed to different accidents; such as getting wet, or, what is still worse, taking fire; in consequence of which latter occurrence, it is said, whole villages have been destroyed. To prevent this mischief, as much as possible, we are informed, that gunpowder is now forbidden to be brought for private sale. This prohibition, as is usual in all such cases, is often evaded, and, by augmenting the price of the article, of course excites the stronger disposition on the part of the merchant to introduce it. The Kamtschadale, therefore, purchases powder secretly, and at a very high price; he uses it sparingly, and that only for defence against bears; or to kill some animal, whose skin he knows will repay the cost of getting it. As, in many respects, it is an article of indispensable necessity, and as therefore the people must have it in some way or other, Captain Krusenstern recommends, that, with many other commodities, it should be sent from Cronstadt.—E.

An extraordinary instance of natural affection in these animals has been already mentioned. The chace affords a variety of a similar nature, and not less affecting; many of which were related to me. The Kamtschadales derive great advantage in hunting from this circumstance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near; for if the cub drop, she becomes enraged to a degree little short of madness; and if she get sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be shot, the cubs will not leave her side, even after she has been dead a long time, but continue about her, shewing, by a variety of affecting actions and gestures, marks of the deepest affliction, and thus become any easy prey to the hunters.

Nor is the sagacity of the bears, if the Kamtschadales are to be credited, less extraordinary, or less worthy to be remarked, than their natural affection. Of this they have a thousand stories to relate. I shall content myself with mentioning one instance, which the natives speak of as a well-known fact, and that is, the stratagem they have recourse to in order to catch the bareins, which are considerably too swift of foot for them. These animals keep together in large herds; they frequent mostly the low grounds, and love to browse at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by scent, till he come in sight, when he advances warily, keeping above them, and concealing himself amongst the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpose. He then begins to push down with his paws pieces of the rock amongst the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to pursue, until he find he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a course immediately ensues, that proves successful, or otherwise, according to the hurt the barein has received.[5]

I cannot

[5] The reader will probably not dislike to see another instance of the bear's cunning, in the mode of catching a peculiar sort of fish called *kachly*, which abounds in Kamtschatka, and of which he is exceedingly fond. We are told by Krusenstern, that as soon as this animal perceives the shoals of *kachly* going up the river, he places himself in the water, within a short distance of the bank, and in such a position of his legs, as that the fish, which always goes straight forward, may have just space enough to pass between them. He then watches his opportunity, when a good many have entered the snare, to press his legs together, so as to inclose his

I cannot conclude this digression, without observing, that the Kamtschadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for what little advancement they have hitherto made either in the sciences or polite arts. They confess that they owe to them all their skill both in physic and surgery; that, by remarking with what herbs these animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourse to when sick and languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But, what will appear somewhat more singular, is, they acknowledge the bears likewise for their dancing-masters. Indeed, the evidence of one's senses puts this out of dispute; for the bear-dance of the Kamtschadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and gesture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions; and this is the foundation and groundwork of all their other dances, and what they value themselves most upon.

I returned to the ships on the 28th, very well pleased with my excursion, as it had afforded me an opportunity of seeing a little more of the country, and of observing the manners and behaviour of the Kamtschadales, when freed from that constraint which they evidently lie under in the company of the Russians.

No occurrence worth mentioning took place till the 30th, when Captain Gore went to Paratounca, to put up in the church there an escutcheon, prepared by Mr Webber, with an inscription upon it, setting forth Captain Clerke's age and rank, and the object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his decease. We also affixed to the tree under which he was buried, a board, with an inscription upon it to the same effect.[6]

Before

his prey, with which, at one spring, he jumps on shore, where he devours them at his leisure. This practice is much to be commended for the spirit of independence it indicates; but not so another one, which some authors have charged against these sagacious animals, viz. dragging the fishermen's nets out of the water, during their absence, and then robbing them of the fish they contained. Mr Bingley's Animal Biography, where this piece of pilfering is mentioned, may be advantageously consulted for several amusing notices respecting the habits and capabilities of this creature, which are quite in unison with Captain King's account.—E.

[6] The interest of the following passage, from the account of Krusenstern's voyage, will form the only apology necessary for the largeness of the

Before his departure, Captain Gore left orders with me to get the ships out of the harbour into the bay, to be in readiness to sail. We were prevented from doing this by a violent gale of wind, which lasted the whole day of the 1st of

the space it occupies. " As it was evident, upon our arrival, that the many things necessary to be done on board, would occupy a space of not less than four or five weeks, the officers of the ship had formed a plan of renewing the monument which had been erected to Captain Clerke. From Cook's and La Perouse's voyage, it is well known that Clerke was buried in the town of Saint Peter and St Saint Paul, under a large tree, to which a board, with an inscription, was affixed, mentioning his death, his age and rank, and the object of the expedition, in which he lost his life. We found the escutcheon, painted by Webber, the draughtsman of the Resolution, and suspended by Captain King in the church at Paratunka, in the portico of Major Krupskoy's house, nor did any one appear to know what connection it had with this painted board; and as there has been no church for many years either in Paratunka or Saint Peter and Saint Paul, it was very fortunate that the escutcheon was not entirely lost. La Perouse, finding the board on the tree rotting very fast, had the inscription copied on a plate of copper, adding, that it had been restored by him; and as this inscription is not given in Cook's voyage, and every thing relative to him and his companion must be interesting to all, I cannot avoid transcribing it here from La Perouse's copy.

" At The Root Of This Tree Lies The Body Of
Captain Charles Clerke,
Who Succeeded To The Command Of His Britannic
Majesty's Ships, The Resolution And
Discovery, On The Death Of Captain James Cook, Who
Was Unfortunately Killed By The Natives
At An Island In The South Sea
On The 14TH Of February In The Year 1779,
And Died At Sea Of A Lingering Consumption The
22ND August In The Same Year, Aged 38.

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" Copié sur l'inscription Angloise par ordre de Mr le Cte de la Perouse chef d'Escadre, en 1787.

" This plate La Perouse caused to be nailed on the wooden monument. We found it there, although it had more than once been removed. The monument itself, however, appeared to promise but short duration; for the tree, which was more than half decayed, could not stand above a few years longer, and it was become necessary to raise a more durable one to Cook's companion. We also found the coffin, containing the remains of De Lisle de la Croyère, as we were digging up the ground, a few paces from Clerke's tomb, after having long sought for it in vain. La Perouse had erected a monument to him also; and, upon a copper-plate, had engraved an inscription, containing a few of the particulars of his life. Of this

of October. However, on the 2d, both ships warped out of the harbour, clear of the narrow passage, and came to anchor in seven fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the *ostrog*.

The day before we went out of the harbour the cattle arrived from Verchnei; and, that the men might receive the full benefit of this capital and much-longed-for supply, by consuming it fresh, Captain Gore came to a determination of staying five or six days longer. Nor was this time idly employed. The boats, pumps, sails, and rigging of both ships, thereby received an additional repair. And Captain Gore sparing me some molasses, and the use of the Resolution's copper, I was enabled to brew a fortnight's beer for the crew, and to make a farther provision of ten puncheons

this there was not the least vestige remaining, though no longer space than eighteen years had since elapsed. The *memento* of these two persons, equally skilled in the science of navigation, and who had both lost their lives in one of the most inhospitable quarters of the globe, could now be united in one monument; and, for this purpose, a durable pedestal of wood was erected as near as possible to the old tree, in order still to preserve the locality; and over this a pyramid; on one side of which, the plate, which La Perouse had engraved, was fastened; and on the opposite side, a copy of Captain Clerke's escutcheon, made for the occasion by M. Tilesius. On the other two sides were the following inscriptions, in Russian: 'In the first voyage round the world, undertaken by the Russians, under the command of Captain Krusenstern, the officers of the ship Nadeshda erected this monument to the memory of the English captain, Clerke, on the 15th September 1805.'

"And on the side facing the south: 'Here rest the ashes of De Lisle de la Croyère, the astronomer attached to the expedition commanded by Commodore Behring, in the year 1741.'

"This monument was constructed under the direction of Lieutenant Ratmanoff; and his anxiety to complete it previous to our departure, made him overcome every difficulty in the way of such an undertaking in Kamtschatka. It would have been an injustice in me not to have supported and contributed by all the means in my power to its completion; and as I gave them not only workmen, but also such materials as we had on board the ship, we had the satisfaction of seeing it entirely completed previous to our departure. A deep ditch surrounded the whole; and, in order to screen it against any accidental injury, it was inclosed in a high paling, the door of which was to be kept constantly locked, and the key to remain in the hands of the governor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul."

Every heart that is capable of humane emotions will respect this labour infinitely beyond either the magnitude or the importance of its effects, and will gladly applaud the virtuous sentiment that prompts generous minds, in defiance of the narrow and perishable distinction of name and nation, to reverence the kindred excellence and the common lot of their fellow-creatures.—E.

puncheons of strong spruce essence. The present supply was the more acceptable, as our last cask of spirits, except a small quantity left in reserve for cases of necessity, was now serving out.

The 3d was the name-day of the Empress, and we could want no inducement to shew it every possible respect. Accordingly, Captain Gore invited the priest of Paratounca, Ivaskin, and the serjeant, to dinner; and an entertainment was also provided for the inferior officers of the garrison; for the two *Toions* of Paratounca and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and for the other better sort of Kamtschadale inhabitants. The rest of the natives, of every description, were invited to partake with the ships' companies, who had a pound of good fat beef served out to each man; and what remained of our spirits was made into grog, and divided amongst them. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the usual hour; and the whole was conducted (considering the part of her dominion it was in) in a manner not unworthy so renowned and magnificent an empress.

On the 5th, we received from Bolcheretsk a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco. This present had met Captain Shmaleff on his return, and was accompanied by a letter from him, in which he informed us, that the sloop from Okotzk had arrived during his absence; and that Madame Shmaleff, who was entirely in our interests, had lost no time in dispatching a courier with the few presents, of which our acceptance was requested.

The appearance of foul weather on the 6th and 7th, prevented our unmooring; but on the morning of the 8th, we sailed out toward the mouth of the bay, and hoisted in all the boats, when the wind, veering to the southward, stopped our farther progress, and obliged us to drop anchor in ten fathoms; the *ostrog* bearing due north, half a league distant.

The weather being foggy, and the wind from the same quarter during the forenoon of the 9th, we continued in our station. At four in the afternoon we again unmoored; but whilst we were with great difficulty weighing our last anchor, I was told that the drummer of the marines had left the boat which had just returned from the village, and that he was last seen with a Kamtschadale woman, to whom his messmates knew he had been much attached, and who had often been observed persuading him to stay behind.

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Though this man had been long useless to us, from a swelling in his knee, which rendered him lame, yet this made me the more unwilling he should be left behind, to become a miserable burden both to the Russians and himself. I therefore got the serjeant to send parties of soldiers, in different directions, in search of him, whilst some of our sailors went to a well-known haunt of his in the neighbourhood, where they found him with his woman. On the return of this party, with our deserter, we weighed, and followed the Resolution out of the bay.

Having at length taken our leave of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, I shall conclude this section with a particular description of Awatska Bay, and the coast adjoining; not only because (its three inlets included) it constitutes, perhaps, the most extensive and safest harbour that has yet been discovered, but because it is the only port in this part of the world capable of admitting ships of any considerable burden. The term Bay, indeed, is perhaps not applicable, properly speaking, to a place so well sheltered as Awatska; but, then, it must be observed, that, from the loose undistinguishing manner in which navigators have denominated certain situations of sea and land, with respect to each other, bays, roads, sounds, harbours, &c. we have no defined and determinate ideas affixed to these words, sufficient to warrant us in changing a popular name for one that may appear more proper.

The entrance into this bay is in 52° 51′ north latitude, and 158° 48′ east longitude, and lies in the bight of another exterior bay, formed by Cheepoonskoi Noss to the N., and Cape Gavareea to the S. The former of these head-lands bears from the latter N.E. by N. ¾ E., and is distant thirty-two leagues. The coast from Cape Gavareea to the entrance of Awatska Bay, takes a direction nearly N., and is eleven leagues in extent. It consists of a chain of high ragged cliffs, with detached rocks frequently lying off them. This coast, at a distance, presents in many parts an appearance of bays or inlets, but, on a nearer approach, the head-lands were found connected by low ground.

Cheepoonskoi Noss bears, from the entrance of the bay, E.N.E. ¼ E., and is twenty-five leagues distant. On this side the shore is low and flat, with hills rising behind to a considerable height. In the latitude of Cape Gavareea

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there is an error of twenty-one miles in the Russian charts, its true latitude being 52° 21′.

This striking difference of the land on each side Awatska Bay, with their different bearings, are the best guides to steer for it in coming from the southward; and, in approaching it from the northward, Cheepoonskoi Noss will make itself very conspicuous; for it is a high projecting head-land, with a considerable extent of level ground lower than the Noss, uniting it to the continent. It presents the same appearance, whether viewed from the north or south, and will warn the mariner not to be deceived in imagining Awatska Bay to lie in the bight which the coast forms to the northward of this Noss, and which might be the case, from the striking resemblance there is between a conical hill within this bight or bay, and one to the south of Awatska Bay.

I have been thus particular in giving a minute description of this coast, from our own experience of the want of it. For had we been furnished with a tolerable account of the form of the coast on each side of Awatska Bay, we should, on our first arrival upon it, have got safely within the bay two days before we did, and thereby have avoided part of the stormy weather which came on when we were plying off the mouth of the harbour. Besides, from the prevalence of fogs in these seas, it must frequently happen, that an observation for ascertaining the latitude cannot be got; to which we may add, that the deceptive appearances land makes when covered with snow, and when viewed through an hazy atmosphere, both which circumstances prevail here during the greatest part of the year, render the knowledge of a variety of discriminating objects the more necessary.

Should, however, the weather be clear enough to admit a view of the mountains on the coast in its neighbourhood, these will serve to point out the situation of Awatska Bay, with a great deal of precision. For to the south of it are two high mountains; that which is nearest to the bay, is shaped like a sugar-loaf; the other, which is farther inland, does not appear so high, and is flat at the top. To the north of the bay, are three very conspicuous mountains; the westernmost is, to appearance, the highest; the next is the *volcano* mountain, which may be known from the smoke that issues from its top, and likewise from some high

high table-hills connected with it, and stretching to the northward; these two are somewhat peaked. The third, and the most northerly, might perhaps be more properly called a cluster of mountains, as it presents to the sight several flat tops.

When the navigator has got within the capes, and into the outward bay, a perpendicular head-land, with a light-house erected upon it, will point out the entrance of the bay of Awatska to the northward. To the eastward of this head-land lie many sunken rocks, stretching into the sea, to the distance of two or three miles; and which will shew themselves, if there be but a moderate sea or swell. Four miles to the south of the entrance lies a small round island, very distinguishable from being principally composed of high pointed rocks, with one of them strikingly remarkable, as being much larger, more peaked and perpendicular than the rest.

It is no way necessary to be equally particular in the description of the bay itself, as of its approaches and environs; since no words can give the mariner a perfect idea of it. The entrance is at first near three miles wide, and in the narrowest part one mile and a half, and four miles long, in a N.N.W. direction. Within the mouth is a noble bason of twenty-five miles circuit, with the capacious harbours of Tareinska to the W., of Rakoweena to the E., and the small one of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, where we lay, to the N.

Tareinska harbour is about three miles in breadth, and twelve in length; it stretches to the E.S.E., and is separated from the sea, at the bottom, by a narrow neck of land. The road into this harbour is perfectly free from rocks or shoals. We had never less than seven fathoms water, as far as our survey extended; for we were not able to get to the bottom of the harbour on account of the ice.

The harbour of Rakoweena would deserve the preference over the other two, if its entrance were not impeded by a shoal lying in the middle of the channel; which, in general, will make it necessary to warp in, unless there be a leading wind. It is from one mile to half a mile in width, and three miles long, running at first in a S.E., and afterward in an easterly direction. Its depth is from thirteen to three fathoms.

Saint Peter and Saint Paul's is one of the most convenient

nient little harbours I ever saw. It will hold conveniently half a dozen ships, moored head and stern; and is fit for giving them any kind of repairs. The south side is formed by a low sandy neck, exceedingly narrow, on which the *ostrog* is built; and whose point may almost be touched by ships going in, having three fathoms water close in with it. In the mid channel, which is no more than two hundred and seventy-eight feet across, there are six fathoms and a half; the deepest water within is seven fathoms; and in every part over a muddy bottom. We found some inconvenience from the toughness of the ground, which constantly broke the messenger, and gave us a great deal of trouble in getting up the anchors. There is a watering-place at the head of the harbour.

The plan we drew points out the shoal to be avoided, lying off the eastern harbour, as well as the spit within the entrance, stretching from the S.W. shore, and over which there are only three fathoms water. In order to steer clear of the latter, a small island, or perhaps it may rather be called a large detached rock, lying on the west shore of the entrance, is to be shut in with the land to the south of it; and to steer clear of the former, the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on the east shore of the entrance near the light-house head, are to be kept open with the head-lands (or bluff-heads) that rise to the northward of the first small bay, or bending, observable on the east side of the entrance. When arrived to the north of the north head-land of the eastern harbour, the shoal is past.

In sailing into the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and approaching the village, it is necessary to keep in close to the eastern shore, in order to avoid a spit which runs from the head-land to the S.W. of the town.[7]

Before I proceed to give a table of the result of our astronomical observations at this place, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that the time-keeper we had on board the Resolution, which was an exact copy of that invented by Mr Harrison, and executed by Mr Kendal, stopped on the 27th of April, a few days before we first came into

[7] Every reader will be pleased to learn, that Krusenstern bears ample testimony to the general accuracy of Captain King's drawings and descriptions of the bay, &c. This intimation is probably sufficient for most persons, without any special exemplification of the coincidences betwixt these two writers.—E.

into Awatska Bay. It had been always kept with the most scrupulous care during the voyage, having never been trusted for a moment into any other hands than those of Captain Cook and mine. No accident could therefore have happened to it, to which we could attribute its stopping; nor could it have arisen from the effects of intense cold, as the thermometer was very little below the freezing point. As soon as the discovery was made, I consulted with Captain Clerke what course it was best to pursue; whether to let it remain as it was, entirely useless to us, for the purpose of satisfying the curious at home, where it was sure of being examined by proper judges, or suffer it to be inspected by a seaman on board, who had served a regular apprenticeship to a watchmaker in London, and appeared sufficiently knowing in the business, from his success in cleaning and repairing several watches since we had been out. The advantages we had derived from its accuracy, made us extremely unwilling to be deprived of its use during the remaining part of the voyage; and that object appeared to us to be of much greater importance than the small degree of probability, which we understood was all that could be expected, of obtaining any material knowledge respecting its mechanism, by deferring the inspection of it. At the same time, it should be remembered, that the watch had already a sufficient trial, both in the former voyage and during the three years we had now had it on board to ascertain its utility. On these considerations, we took the opportunity of the first clear day, after our arrival in Awatska Bay, of opening the watch, which was done in the captain's cabin, and in our presence. The watchmaker found no part of the work broken; but not being able to set it a-going, he proceeded to take off the cock and balance, and cleaned both the pivot-holes, which he found very foul, and the rest of the work rather dirty; he also took off the dial-plate; and, between two teeth of the wheel that carries the second-hand, found a piece of dirt, which he imagined to be the principal cause of its stopping. Having afterward put the work together, and oiled it as sparingly as possible, the watch appeared to go free and well.

Having received orders the next day to go to Bolcheretsk, the time-keeper was left in the care of Mr Bayley, to compare it with his watch and clock, in order to get its rate. On my return, I was told it had gone for some days

with

with tolerable regularity, losing only from fifteen to seventeen seconds a-day, when it stopped a second time. It was again opened, and the cause of its stopping appeared to be owing to the man having put some part of the work badly together when he first opened it. Being again adjusted, it was found to gain above a minute a-day; and, in the attempt to alter the regulator and balance-spring, he broke the latter. He afterward made a new spring; but the watch now went so irregularly, that we made no farther use of it. The poor fellow was not less chagrined than we were at our bad success; which, however, I am convinced, was more owing to the miserable tools he was obliged to work with, and the stiffness his hands had contracted from his ordinary occupation, than to his want of skill.

For the satisfaction of those who may wish to have a general view of its rate of going, I have added the following table.

The first and second columns contain the dates when, and the names of the places where its rate was observed. The third column contains the daily error of its rate, so found from mean time. The fourth column has the longitude of each place, according to the Greenwich rate; that is, calculated on a supposition that the time-keeper had not varied its rate from the time it left Greenwich. But as we had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the variation of its daily error, or finding its new rate, the fifth column has the longitude according to its last rate, calculated from the true longitude of the place last departed from. The sixth is the true longitude of the place deduced from astronomical observations made by ourselves, and compared with those made by others, whenever such could be obtained. The seventh column shews the difference between the fourth column and the sixth in space; and the eighth the same difference in time. The ninth shews the number of months and days in which the error, thus determined, had been accumulating. The difference between the fifth and sixth columns is found in the tenth, and shews the error of the time-keeper, according to its rate last found, in space; and the eleventh the same error in time. The twelfth contains the time elapsed in sailing from the place where the rate was last taken, to the place whose longitude is last determined. The thirteenth and fourteenth contain the state of the air at the time of each observation.

As

As persons, unaccustomed to calculations of this sort, may find some difficulty in comprehending the nature of the table, the two following instances will more clearly explain it.

Thus, on the 24th October, 1776, (first column,) at the Cape of Good Hope (second column,) we found the daily error, in the rate of its going, to be 2″,26 (third column.) The longitude of that place, calculated on a supposition that the rate of the time-keeper had continued the same from the time of our leaving Greenwich, that is, had a regular daily error of 1″,21, is found to be 18° 26′ 30″ east (fourth column.) And as its rate at Greenwich is, in this instance, its latest rate, the longitude thus found is the same (fifth column.) The true longitude of the place is 18° 23′ 15″ (sixth column.) From whence it appears, that in our run from Greenwich to the Cape, the watch would have led us into an error only of 3′ 15″ (seventh column,) or three miles one quarter; or had varied 13″ of time (eighth column,) in four months twenty-three days (ninth column,) the period between our leaving Greenwich and our arrival at the Cape. As the Greenwich is the latest error, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth columns, will be the same with the seventh and ninth.

But, on the 23d of February, 1777, (first column,) at Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand, (second column,) the daily error of its rate was found to be 2″,91, (third column.) The longitude of this place, according to the Greenwich rate, is 175° 25′, (fourth column.) But having found at the Cape, that it had altered its rate from a daily error of 1″,21, to 2″,26, the longitude corrected by this new rate is found to be 174° 44′ 23″, (fifth column.) The true longitude of the place being 174° 23′ 31″, (sixth column;) it appears that, in our run from Greenwich to New Zealand, the error would have been only 1° 1′ 29″, (seventh column,) or sixty-one miles and a half, even if we had not had an opportunity of correcting its daily error; or, in other words, that the watch had varied 4′ 5″,3, (eighth column,) in nine months four days, (ninth column.) But the longitude, as given by its new rate, leaves an error of only 30′ 54″, (tenth column,) near thirty-one miles, or, in time, 2′ 3″,6, (eleventh column,) which has been accumulating during our run from the Cape to New Zealand, or in four months nine days, (twelfth column.) The thirteenth and fourteenth columns require no explanation.

## *TABLE of the Rate and Error of Mr Kendall's Watch on Board the Resolution.*

| I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | VII. | VIII. | IX. | X. | XI. | XII. | XIII. | | XIV. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TIME. | PLACE. | Error of Daily Rate. | Longitude by Greenwich Rate. | Longitude by New Rate. | True Longitude. | Accumulated Error by Greenwich Rate. In Space. | In Time. | Length of Time. | Error by New Rate. In Space. | In Time. | Length of Time. | Thermometer. Gr. Height. | Least | Barometer. |
| | | " | ° ′ " | ° ′ " | ° ′ " | ° ′ " | H. ′ " | Mo Da | ° ′ " | H. ′ " | Mo Da | | | |
| 1776. June 11 | Greenwich - | — 1,21 | 0 0 0E | 0 0 0E | 0 0 0E | | | | | | | | | |
| Oct. 24 | Cape of Good Hope - | — 2,26 | 18 26 30 | 18 26 30 | 18 23 15 | + 0 3 15 | 0 0 13,0 | 4 23 | + 0 3 15 | 0 0 13,0 | 4 23 | 84 | 63 | 30, 0 |
| 1777. Feb. 22 | Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand | — 2,91 | 175 25 0 | 174 54 25 | 174 23 31 | 1 1 29 | 0 4 5,9 | 9 4 | + 0 30 54 | 0 2 3,6 | 4 9 | 73 | 53 | 30, 0 |
| May 7 | Anamooka - | + 0,52 | 186 13 26 | 186 13 15 | 185 11 18 | 1 2 8 | 0 4 8,5 | 11 22 | + 1 1 57 | 0 4 7,8 | 2 18 | 83 | 74 | 30, 1 |
| June 7 | Anamooka - | — 0,54 | 186 8 28 | 186 12 43 | 185 11 18 | 0 57 10 | 0 3 48,6 | 12 25 | + 1 1 25 | 0 4 5,6 | 1 3 | 79 | 73 | 30,15 |
| July 1 | Tongataboo - | — 1,78 | 185 48 50 | 184 53 0 | 184 55 18 | 0 53 32 | 0 3 34,1 | 13 21 | — 0 2 18 | 0 0 9,2 | 0 24 | 85 | 69 | 30,15 |
| Sept. 1 | Otaheite - | — 1,54 | 211 41 26 | 210 39 8 | 210 22 28 | 1 18 58 | 0 5 15,8 | 15 27 | + 0 16 40 | 0 1 6,6 | 2 6 | 90 | 70 | 30, 1 |
| Oct. 17 | Huaheine - | — 2,30 | 210 14 52 | 208 50 24 | 208 52 24 | 1 22 28 | 0 5 29,8 | 17 17 | — 0 2 0 | 0 0 8,0 | 1 18 | 90 | 72 | 29, 9 |
| Nov. 7 | Ulietea - | — 1,52 | 209 42 54 | 208 25 22 | 208 25 22 | 1 17 32 | 0 5 10,1 | 18 10 | 0 0 0 | 0 0 0,0 | 0 21 | 92 | 70 | 29, 7 |
| 1778. Apr. 16 | Nootka - - | — 7, 0 | 235 32 45 | 233 56 0 | 233 17 8 | 2 15 27 | 0 9 1,8 | 24 2 | + 0 28 42 | 0 2 34,8 | 5 20 | 65 | 41 | 30, 0 |
| Oct. 14 | Samganoodha | — 8, 8 | 197 44 15 | 193 12 35 | 193 31 20 | 4 12 55 | 0 16 51,6 | 30 15 | — 0 18 45 | 0 1 15,0 | 6 13 | 57 | 36 | 30,15 |
| 1779. Feb. 2 | Owhyhee - - | — 9, 6 | 214 7 35 | 203 37 22 | 204 0 0 | 10 7 35 | 0 40 30,3 | 34 14 | — 0 22 38 | 0 1 30,5 | 8 27 | 88 | 70 | 29, 8 |
| May 1 | Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Kamtschatka. | T. K. stopt. | 173 36 0 | 159 20 0 | 158 43 16 | 14 52 44 | 0 59 30,9 | 37 18 | — 0 36 44 | 0 2 16,9 | 3 4 | | | |

From this view of the time-keeper it appears, that for near two years it altered its rate very inconsiderably, and therefore that its error, according to the Greenwich rate, if we had had no opportunities of correcting it, amounted only to 2¾°. That afterward, at King George's Sound, or Nootka, it was found to have varied exceedingly; of course, the longitude, by its Greenwich rate, was becoming considerably erroneous. About this time, it should be remarked, the thermometer was varying from 65° to 41°. The greatest alteration we ever observed in the watch was, during the three weeks we were cruising to the N.; in which interval, it gave the longitude of the East Cape with a difference of twenty-eight miles. I have marked the longitude of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as given by the time-keeper, notwithstanding it stopped a few days before we arrived there; this I was enabled to do, from comparing the longitude it gave the day before it stopped, with that given by Mr Bayley's watch, and allowing for the error of the latter.

The use of so accurate a measure of time is sufficiently evident, from its furnishing in itself the means of approximating to the longitude at sea, as may be seen in the above table. But, besides this, we were enabled, by the same means, to give a degree of accuracy to the lunar observations, which they cannot otherwise pretend to; and, at the same time, by reducing a number of those observations to one time, obtain results approaching still nearer to the truth. In surveying coasts, and ascertaining the true position of capes and head-lands, it reaches the utmost degree of practical exactness. On the other hand, it is to be observed, that lunar observations, in their turn, are absolutely necessary, in order to reap the greatest possible advantages from the time-keeper; since, by ascertaining the true longitude of places, they discover the error of its rate. The original observations that were made in the course of this voyage, have been published by order of the Board of Longitude, and to those I must refer the reader, for his further information on this subject.

N.B. The observatories were placed on the west side of the village of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Latitude deduced from meridian zenith
distances of the sun, and of five stars

to

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| to the S., and five to the N. of the zenith - - - - - | 53° | 0′ | 38″ | N. |
| Longitude deduced from one hundred and forty-six sets of lunar observations - - - - - | 158 | 43 | 16 | E. |
| Longitudy by time-keeper, according to its Greenwich rate - - | 173 | 36 | 0 | |
| Longitude by time-keeper, according to its rate found at Owhyhee - | 159 | 20 | 0 | |
| Variation of the compass, by azimuths taken with three compasses, made by Knight, Gregory, and Martin - | 6 | 18 | 40 | E. |
| Dip of the North Pole of the magnetic needle, being a mean of the observations taken in June and September | 63 | 5 | 0 | |

It was high water, on the full and change of the moon, at thirty-six minutes past four, and the greatest rise was five feet eight inches. The tides were very regular every twelve hours. On the coast, near the bay, the flood came from the S., and the time of high water was near two hours sooner than in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

## SECTION VI.

*General Account of Kamtschatka.—Geographical Description.—Rivers.—Soil.—Climate.—Volcanoes.—Hot Springs.—Productions.—Vegetables.—Animals.—Birds.—Fish.*[1]

KAMTSCHATKA is the name of a peninsula situated on the eastern coast of Asia, running nearly N. and S., from 52°

[1] Some doubt may be entertained of the propriety with which Captain King has occupied so large a portion of his volume as two chapters, or sections, with a subject, respecting which it is most certain, his knowledge must have resulted from almost any thing else than his own personal observation. There is force in the objection. But it must be allowed on the other hand, that there was no inconsiderable inducement to supply the public with a tolerable share of information concerning a country which, distant and uncultivated as it was, seemed notwithstanding to be entitled to more regard than had usually been paid to it. Steller's work, of which he has properly availed himself, had been but recently published, viz. in 1774, and in all probability had not hitherto occupied much

52° to 61° N. latitude; the longitude of its southern extremity being 156° 45′ E. The isthmus, which joins it to the continent on the N., lies between the Gulf of Olutorsk and the Gulf of Penshinsk. Its southern extremity is Cape Lopatka, a word signifying the blade bone of a man, and is so called from its supposed resemblance to it. The shape of the whole peninsula is not unlike that of a shoe, widening from the toe (which we may suppose to be Cape Lopatka) toward the middle, and narrowing again toward the heel, the neck of land above mentioned connecting it with the continent. Its greatest breadth is from the mouth of the river Tigil to that of Kamtschatka, and is computed to be two hundred and thirty-six miles, from whence it narrows very gradually toward each extremity.

It is bounded on the N. by the country of the Koriacks; to the S. and E., by the North Pacific Ocean; and to the W., by the sea of Okotzk. A chain of high mountains stretches the whole length of the country, from N. to S., dividing it nearly into two equal parts, from whence a great number of rivers take their rise, and empty themselves, on each side, into the Pacific Ocean and the sea of Okotzk.

There are three rivers of much greater magnitude than the rest; the Bolchoireka, or great river, so called from bolchoia, which signifies great, and reka, a river; the river Kamtschatka,

much attention. The earlier accounts, whether published separately as that of Krascheninnikof, an English translation of which appeared at Gloucester in 1764, or contained in other works, as an article in Pallas's New Memoirs of the North, were perhaps still less consulted. Captain King's description, therefore, supposing the subject in any degree entitled to notice, was neither unnecessary nor unprofitable. It has been generally employed as the basis of the subsequent accounts which have been inserted in gazetteers and treatises of geography. But there have been several works, entitled to the consideration of being original, published since its appearance, from which some additions might be obtained, or which point out reasons for correction,—not so much however, it is proper to remark, because of errors committed by Captain K., as because of alterations occurred in the country since his time. A few of these, unfortunately not much for the better, have been stated, or will be so, on the authority of one of the last visitors to Kamtschatka, Captain Krusenstern. This gentleman, however, it ought to be understood, admits the general accuracy of the previous accounts given by Krascheninnikof, Steller, and King, and therefore, avoiding repetition, restricts himself almost entirely to the mention of the most material changes which have taken place during the last thirty years. This will readily be allowed enough for our present purpose, exclusive of any attention to the other productions which have treated of Kamtschatka, in the intermediate period.—E.

Kamtschatka, and the Awatska. The first empties itself into the sea of Okotzk, and is navigable for the Russian galliots upwards of five leagues from its mouth, or within nine miles of Bolcheretsk, a town situated at the conflux of the Goltsoffka and the Bistraia, which here lose themselves in the Bolchoireka. The Bistraia itself is no inconsiderable river. It derives its source from the same mountain with the river Kamtschatka, and, by taking a direct contrary course, affords the Kamtschadales the means of transporting their goods by water in small canoes, almost across the whole peninsula. The river Kamtschatka, after maintaining a course of near three hundred miles from S. to N., winds round to the eastward; in which direction it empties itself into the ocean, a little to the southward of Kamtschatkoi Noss. Near the mouth of the Kamtschatka to the N.W., lies the great lake called Nerpitsch, from nerpi, a Kamtschadale word, signifying a seal, with which this lake abounds. About twenty miles up the river, reckoning from the mouth of the lake, is a fort called Nishnei Kamtschatka ostrog, where the Russians have built an hospital and barracks; and which, we were informed, is become the principal mart in this country.

The river Awatska rises from the mountains situated between the Bolchoireka and the Bistraia, and running, from N.W. to S.E., a course of one hundred miles, falls into the bay of Awatska. The Tigil is likewise a river of considerable size, rising amidst some very high mountains, which lie under the same parallel with Kamtschatkoi Noss, and running in an even course from S.E. to N.W., falls into the sea at Okotzk. All the other rivers of this peninsula, which are almost infinite in number, are too small to deserve a particular enumeration.

If I may judge of the soil, from what I saw of its vegetable productions, I should not hesitate in pronouncing it barren in the extreme. Neither in the neighbourhood of the bay, nor in the country I traversed on my journey to Bolcheretsk, nor in any of our hunting expeditions, did I ever meet with the smallest spot of ground that resembled what in England is called a good green turf; or that seemed as if it could be turned to any advantage, either in the way of pasturage, or other mode of cultivation. The face of the country in general was thinly covered with stunted trees, having a bottom of moss, mixed with low weak

heath.

heath. The whole bore a more striking resemblance to Newfoundland, than to any other part of the world I had ever seen.

It must however be observed, that I saw at Paratounca three or four stacks of sweet and very fine-looking hay; and Major Behm informed me, that many parts of the peninsula, particularly the banks of the river Kamtschatka and the Bistraia, produce grass of great height and strength, which they cut twice in the summer; and that the hay is of a succulent quality, and particularly well adapted to the fattening of cattle. Indeed it should appear, from the size and fatness of the thirty-six head that were sent down to us from the Verchnei ostrog, and which, we were told, were bred and fattened in the neighbourhood, that they must have had the advantage of both good pastures and meadows. For it is worth our notice, that the first supply we received, consisting of twenty, came to us just at the close of the winter, and before the snow was off the ground, and therefore probably had tasted nothing but hay for the seven preceding months. And this agrees with what is related by Krascheninnikoff, that there is no part of the country equal in fertility to that which borders on the river Kamtschatka; and that to the N. and S. it is much inferior both in point of soil and climate. He relates, that repeated experiments have been made in the culture of oats, barley, and rye, in different quarters near this river, which have generally succeeded; that, in particular, some persons belonging to the convent of Jakutzk, who had settled in that part of the country, had sown barley there, which had yielded an extraordinary increase; and he has no doubt but that wheat, in many parts, particularly near the source of the Bistraia and Kamtschatka, would grow as well as in the generality of countries situated in the same latitude. Perhaps the superior fertility of the country here spoken of, may, in a great measure, be accounted for, from its lying in that part of the peninsula which is by much the widest, and consequently farthest removed from the sea, on each side. The moist chilling fogs and drizzling weather which prevail almost perpetually along the coast, must necessarily render the parts adjacent very unfit for all the purposes of agriculture.[a]

It

[a] It is in the vicinity of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Krusenstern allows, that

It is natural to suppose, that the severity of the climate must be in due proportion to the general sterility of the soil, of which it is probably the cause. The first time we saw

that the climate is so unfavourable, and the soil, in consequence, so ungrateful. But he specifies reasons for believing that the middle provinces of Kamtschatska are equal, if not superior, to many in European Russia, in respect of natural advantages, though certainly far less indebted to the hand of man. He tells us, however, that in the interior, several species of corn are brought to perfection and many kinds of vegetables are cultivated. In his opinion the climate is not so bad as it has generally been represented, and he is convinced that the indolence of the inhabitants, and the incapacity occasioned by the immoderate use of spirits, are far more in fault as to the deficiency or unproductiveness of the soil, than the frequent fogs which are so much complained of, or any other unkindness on the part of nature. In proof of this, he maintains, that the officers who are garrisoned here, have laid out gardens for themselves, which, by proper care, yield almost every kind of vegetable necessary for the table, and that too in quantities beyond the usual demand. Besides the materially efficient checks already mentioned, this gentleman specifies a very unreasonable notion, pretty commonly entertained, which has operated extensively in limiting the productions of the earth, and from which not even the officers who had been successful in their particular pursuits were altogether exempt. The notion to which he alludes is, that it would be useless to commence cultivating their gardens before the month of July, although, to his certain knowledge, June was *as beautiful as it can possibly be in the most favoured climate*, and though, according to Captain King, wild garlic, cellery, and nettles, were gathered for his crew in the month of May. The inference from this last circumstance seems obviously correct. "If," says Krusenstern, "in the middle of May so much is already produced without any cultivation at all, I think I do not assert too much in saying they ought to begin to lay out their gardens in this month." This conclusion appears still more importantly authoritative from what he relates on his own experience. "I passed all the summer months in Kamtschatka," says he, "during the two years of my absence; that is to say, the whole of June, a part of July, and the whole of August and September, and can affirm with confidence, that, in these four months, there are just as many pleasant cheerful days as in any other place under the same latitude." On the whole then, one may readily concur in sentiment with this intelligent officer, that did the government adopt very different measures from those which have hitherto been in force, and were certain practices and prejudices abolished, Kamtschatka might afford as good and cheap living as many other provinces of the Russian empire. To most readers, it is probable, this will seem no very mighty recommendation. Relatively, however, to the person who makes it, and to those to whom it is addressed, it must be allowed to possess a virtue of no common magnitude or efficacy. Perhaps it is necessary to state for the credit of this writer, that some of the immediately following remarks of Captain King, much as they seem at first sight to oppose one of his opinions above approved of, will be found on attentive consideration perfectly reconcileable with them, more particularly if it be remembered that in other countries where

saw this country was in the beginning of May, 1779, when the whole face of it was covered with snow, from six to eight feet deep. On the 6th we had snow, with the wind from the N.E. On the 8th of May, at noon, the thermometer stood at 32°; and the same day some of our men were sent on shore to try to cut wood, but the snow was still so deep on the ground, as to render all their attempts fruitless. Nor was it found practicable to proceed in this necessary business, with all the efforts of a very stout party, till the 12th, at which time the thaw began to advance gradually. The sides of the hills were now in some places free from snow; and, by the beginning of June, it was generally melted from the low lands. On the 15th of June, the day we sailed out of the harbour, the thermometer had never risen higher than 58°, nor the barometer than 30° 04′. The winds blew almost invariably from the eastward during our stay, and the S.E. was more prevalent than any other.

On our return, the 24th of August, the foliage of the trees, and all other sorts of vegetation, seemed to be in the utmost state of perfection. For the remainder of this month, and through September, the weather was very changeable, but in no respect severe. The winds at the beginning of the month were for the most part easterly, after which they got round to the W. The greatest height of the thermometer was 65°, the lowest 40°. The barometer's greatest height 30°, its lowest 29,3. So that upon the whole, during this month, an equal and moderate degree of temperature prevailed. But at the beginning of October, the tops of the hills were again covered with new-fallen snow, the wind continuing westerly.

In computing the seasons, the spring ought certainly not to be taken into the account. From the middle of June to the middle of September, may be properly said to constitute the summer. October may be considered as an autumnal month; from thence, to the middle of June, it is perfect winter. It was toward the end of May that we made our journey between Bolcheretsk and Awatska, over the snow in sledges.

It

where much snow falls during the winter, nothing is more usual than to find, on its disappearance, that the earth is covered with a rich and healthy vegetation which a thick coating of that substance, known to be a bad conductor of heat, had preserved from the rigors of the season.—E.

It is said, that the climate in the country adjoining to the river Kamtschatka, is not less serene and temperate, than in many parts of Siberia that are under the same latitude. This variation is probably owing to the same causes, to which the superior fertility of the soil in those parts has been before attributed. But it is not in the sterility of the ground alone, that the Kamtschadales feel the unfavourable temperature of their climate. The uncertainty of the summer season sometimes prevents their laying up a sufficient stock of dried fish for their winter's provision, and the moisture of the air causes worms to breed in them, which not unfrequently destroy the greatest part.

I do not remember that we had either thunder or lightning during our stay, excepting on the night of the eruption of the volcano; and, from the account of the inhabitants, they are very seldom troubled with storms of this kind, and never but in a slight degree. The general severity of the winter, as well as the dreadful hurricanes of wind and snow that season brings along with it, cannot be questioned, from the subterraneous habitations the natives are under a necessity of retiring to, for warmth and security. Major Behm told us, that the cold and inclemency of the winter of 1779 was such, that for several weeks all intercourse between the inhabitants was entirely stopped, every one being afraid to stir even from one house to another, for fear of being frost-bitten. This extraordinary rigour of climate, in so low a latitude, may be accounted for, from its being situated to the east of an immense uncultivated tract of country, and from the prevalence of the westerly winds, blowing over so extensive and cold a continent. The extraordinary violence and impetuosity of the winds is attributed to the subterraneous fires, the sulphureous exhalations, and the general volcanic disposition of the country.

This peninsula abounds in volcanos, of which only three have, for some time past, been subject to eruptions. We have already mentioned that which is situated in the neighbourhood of Awatska. Besides this, there are others not less remarkable, according to the account given of them by Krascheninnikoff.

The volcano of Tolbatchick is situated on a neck of ground between the river of Kamtschatka and Tolbatchick. The mountain, from the summit of which the eruptions pro-

 ceed,

ceed, is of a considerable height, and terminates in pointed rocks. In the beginning of the year 1739, there issued from it a whirlwind of flames, which reduced to ashes the forests of the neighbouring mountains. This was succeeded by a cloud of smoke, which spread over and darkened the whole country, till it was dissipated by a shower of cinders, that covered the ground to the distance of thirty miles. Mr Krascheninnikoff, who was at this time on a journey from Bolchoireka to the Kamtschatka ostrog, at no great distance from the mountain, relates that the eruption was preceded by an alarming sound in the woods, which he thought the forerunner of some dreadful storm or hurricane, till three shocks of an earthquake, at about a minute's interval of each, convinced him of its real cause; but that he was hindered from approaching nearer the mountain, by the cinders that fell, and prevented him from proceeding on his journey.

The third volcano is on the top of the mountain of Kamtschatka, which is mentioned as by far the highest in the peninsula. A thick smoke never ceases to ascend from its summit, and it has frequent eruptions, of the most violent and dreadful kind; some of which were much talked of, and seemed to be fresh in the memories of the Kamtschadales.

The country is likewise said to contain numerous springs of hot water. The only one that I had an opportunity of seeing was at Natcheekin ostrog, and hath been already described. Krascheninnikoff makes mention of several others, and also of two very extraordinary pits, or wells, at the bottom of which the water is seen to boil as in a cauldron, with prodigious force and impetuosity; at the same time a dreadful noise issues out of them, and so thick a vapour, that a man cannot see through it.

Of the trees which fell under our notice, the principal are the birch, the poplar, the alder, (with the bark of which they stain their leather,) many species of the willow, but all small; and two kinds of dwarfish pines or cedars.[3] One of these grows upon the coast, creeping along the ground, and seldom exceeds two feet in height. It was of this sort we made our essence for beer, and found it excellent for the

[3] Krascheninnikoff says, that the tree here spoken of is a dwarf cedar, for that there is not a pine in the peninsula.

the purpose. The other grows on the mountains, to a greater height, and bears a small nut, or apple. We were told by the old *Toion* at Saint Peter and Saint Paul, that Beering, during the time he lay in that harbour, first taught them the use of the decoction of these pines, and that it proved a most excellent remedy for the scurvy; but, whether from the great scarcity of sugar, or from what other cause, we could not learn, we were sorry to find that it was no longer in use amongst them.

The birch was by far the most common tree we saw; and of this we remarked three sorts. Two of them fit for timber, and differing only in the texture and colour of the bark; the third of a dwarfish kind. This tree is applied to a great variety of uses by the inhabitants. The liquor which, on tapping, it yields in great abundance, they drink without mixture, or any preparation, as we had frequent opportunities of observing upon our journey to Bolcheretsk; and found it ourselves pleasant and refreshing, but somewhat purgative. The bark they convert into vessels, for almost all their domestic and kitchen purposes; and it is of the wood of this tree the sledges and canoes are also made.[4]

The birch, and every other kind of tree in the neighbourhood of the bay, were small and stunted; and they are obliged to go many miles up into the country, for wood of a proper size to work into canoes, for the principal timbers of their *balagans*, and the like uses.

Besides the trees above-mentioned, Krascheninnikoff relates, that the larch grows on the banks of the river Kamtschatka, and of those that fall into it, but no where else; and that there are firs in the neighbourhood of the river Berezowa; that there is likewise the service-tree (*padus foliis annuis;*) and two species of the white thorn, one bearing a red, the other a black berry.

Of the shrub kind, as junipers, the mountain-ash, wild rose-trees, and raspberry bushes, the country produces great abundance; together with a variety of berries; blue berries of two sorts, round and oval; partridge-berries, cranberries, crow-berries, and black-berries. These the natives gather

[4] Krascheninnikoff says, that the natives likewise convert the bark into a pleasant wholesome food, by stripping it off whilst it is young and green, and cutting it into long narrow stripes, like *vermicelli*, drying it, and stewing it afterward along with their *caviar*.

gather at proper seasons, and preserve, by boiling them into a thick jam, without sugar. They make no inconsiderable part of their winter provisions, and are used as sauce to their dried and salt fish; of which kind of food they are unquestionably excellent correctives. They likewise eat them by themselves in puddings, and various other ways, and make decoctions of them for their ordinary liquor.

We met with several wholesome vegetables in a wild state, and in great quantities; such as wild celery, angelica, chervil, garlic, and onions. Upon some few patches of ground in the vallies, we found excellent turnips and turnip-radishes. Their garden cultivation went no farther; yet from hence I am led to conclude, that many of the hardy sorts of vegetables, (such at least as push their roots downward,) like as carrots, parsnips, and beet, and perhaps potatoes, would thrive tolerably well. Major Behm told me, that some other sorts of kitchen vegetables had been tried, but did not answer; that neither any of the cabbage or lettuce kind would ever head; and that peas and beans shot up very vigorous stalks, flowered and podded, but the pods never filled. He likewise told me, that in the experiments made by himself at Bolcheretsk, with different sorts of farinaceous grain, there generally came up a very high and strong blade, which eared, but that the ears never yielded flour.

This short account of the vegetable production reaches to such parts of the country only as fell within our notice. In the neighbourhood of the Kamtschatka river, where (as has been observed) both the soil and climate are by much the best in the whole peninsula, garden culture is attended to, and probably with great success, as appears from our having received, at the same time with the second drove of cattle from Verchnei, a present of cucumbers, of very large fine turnips, celery, and some other garden-stuff, of which I do not recollect the kinds.

There are two plants, which, from the great use made of them, merit a particular mention and description. The first is called by the natives *sarana,* and by botanists, *Lilium Kamtskatiense flore atro rubente.*[5] The stem is about the thickness of that of the tulip, and grows to the height of five

[5] Gmelin, p. 41. Steller enumerates five different species of this plant.

five inches, is of a purple colour toward the bottom, and green higher up, and hath growing from it two tier of leaves of an oval figure, the lowest consisting of three leaves, the uppermost of four, in the form of a cross; from the top of the stalk grows a single flower, of an exceedingly dark red colour, in shape resembling the flower of the narcissus, only much smaller; from the centre of the flower rises a style of a triangular form, and obtuse at the end, which is surrounded by six white stamina, whose extremities are yellow. The root is of the bulbous kind, and resembles in shape that of garlic, being much of the same size, but rounder, and having, like that, four or five cloves hanging together. The plant grows wild, and in considerable abundance; the women are employed in collecting the roots at the beginning of August, which are afterward dried in the sun, and then laid up for use. On our second arrival, this harvest was just over, and had fallen much short of its usual produce. It is a common observation amongst the Kamtschadales, that the bounty of Providence never fails them, for that such seasons as are most hurtful to the *sarana,* are always the most favourable for fishing; and that, on the contrary, a bad fishing month is always made up by the exuberance of the *sarana* harvest. It is used in cookery in various ways. When roasted in embers, it supplies the place of bread better than any thing the country affords. After being baked in an oven and pounded, it becomes an excellent substitute for flour and meal of every sort; and in this form is mixed in all their soups, and most of their other dishes. It is esteemed extremely nourishing, has a pleasant bitter taste, and may be eaten every day without cloying. We used to boil these roots, and eat them as potatoes, either alone, or with our meat, and found them very wholesome and pleasant. It has been already mentioned, that this useful plant grows also at Oonalashka, where the roots of it are used, and constitute a considerable part of their food, in like manner as in Kamtschatka.

The other plant alluded to is called the sweet grass; the botanical description is *Heracleum Sibericum foliis pinnatis, foliolis quinis, intermediis sessilibus, corollulis uniformibus.* Hort. Upsal. 65. The time, I took particular notice of it, was in May, when it was about a foot and a half high, had much the appearance of sedge, and was covered with a white down, or dust, which looked exceedingly like the hoar frost

hoar-frost hanging upon it, and might be rubbed off; it tasted as sweet as sugar; but was hot and pungent. The stalk is hollow, and consists of three or four joints; from each of which arise large leaves, and when at its full growth, is six feet high.

This plant was formerly a principal ingredient in the cookery of most of the Kamtschadale dishes; but since the Russians got possession of the country, it has been almost entirely appropriated to the purpose of distillation. The manner in which it is gathered, prepared, and afterward distilled, is as follows:—Having cut such stalks as have leaves growing on them, of a proper age, (the principal stem, by the time the plant has attained its full growth, having become too dry for their purpose,) and scraped off with shells the downy substance on their surface, they are laid in small heaps, till they begin to sweat and smell. On growing dry again, they put them into sacks made of matting; where, after remaining a few days, they are gradually covered with a sweet saccharine powder, which exudes from the hollow of the stalk. From thirty-six pounds of the plant in this state, they obtain no more than a quarter of a pound of powder. The women, whose province it is to collect and prepare the materials, are obliged to defend their hands with gloves whilst they are scraping the stalks; the rind they remove, being of so acrid a quality as to blister, and even ulcerate, whatever it touches.

The spirit is drawn from the plant in this state by the following process:—After steeping bundles of it in hot water, they promote its fermentation in a small vessel, by the help of berries of the *gimolost*,[6] or of the *golubitsa*,[7] being careful to close up well the mouth of the vessel, and to keep it in a warm place whilst the fermentation is going on, which is generally so violent as to occasion a considerable noise, and to agitate the vessel in which it is contained. After drawing off this first liquor, they pour on more hot water, and make a second in the same manner. They then pour both liquor and herbs into a copper still, and draw off the spirit after the usual method. The liquor thus obtained is of the strength of brandy; and is called by the natives *raka*.

[6] Lonicera pedunculis bifloris, floribus infundibili formis, baccâ solitariâ, oblongâ, angulosâ. Gmel. Flor. Sib.

[7] Myrtillus grandis cæruleus.

*raka.* Two pood (seventy-two pounds) of the plant yield generally one vedro (twenty-five pints) of *raka.*

Steller says, that the spirit distilled from this plant, unscraped, is exceedingly prejudicial to the health, and produces the most sudden and terrible nervous effects.

Besides these, Krascheninnikoff mentions a variety of other plants, from whence the inhabitants prepare several decoctions; and which, being mixed with their fish, make palatable and wholesome ragouts. Such as the *kipri,*[8] with which is brewed a pleasant common beverage; and, by boiling this plant and the sweet herb together, in the proportion of one to five of the latter, and fermenting the liquor in the ordinary way, is obtained a strong and excellent vinegar. The leaves of it are used instead of tea, and the pith is dried and mixed in many of their dishes; the *morkovai,*[9] which is very like angelica; the *kotkorica,*[10] the root of which they eat indifferently, green or dried; the *ikoum;*[11] the *utchichlei,*[12] which is much eaten with fish; with many others.

It is said, that the Kamtschadales (before their acquaintance with fire-arms) poisoned their spears and arrows with the juice of the root of the *zgate;*[13] and that wounds inflicted by them are equally destructive to land and marine animals. The Tschutski are reported to use the same drug for this purpose at present.

I shall conclude this part of the natural history of Kamtschatka with an account, from the same author, of three plants, which furnish the materials of all their manufactures. The first is the *triticum radice perenni spiculis binis lanuginosis,*[14] which grows in abundance along the coast. Of the straw of this grass they make a strong sort of matting, which they use not only for their floors, but for sacks, bedclothes, curtains, and a variety of other domestic purposes. Of the same materials they also make very neat little bags and baskets, of different forms, and for various uses.

The plant called *bolotnaia,* which grows in the marshes, and resembles *cyperoides,* is gathered in the autumn, and carded

[8] Epilobium. [9] Chærephyllum seminibus levibus.
[10] Tradescantia fructu molli edulo.
[11] Bistorta foliis ovatis, oblongis, acuminatis.
[12] Jacobea foliis cannabis. Steller.
[13] Anemonoides et ranunculus.
[14] Gmel. Sib. Tom. i. p. 119. Tab. XXV.

carded like wool, with a comb made of the bones of the sea-swallow; with this, in lieu of linen and woollen clothes, they swathe their new-born infants, and use it for a covering next the skin whilst they are young. It is also made into a kind of wadding, and used for the purpose of giving additional warmth to various parts of their clothing.

There remains still a vulgar and well-known plant, which, as it contributes more effectually to their subsistence than all the rest put together, must not be passed over in silence. This is the nettle, which, as the country produces neither hemp nor flax, supplies the materials of which are made their fishing-nets, and without which they could not possibly subsist. For this purpose they cut it down in August; and, after hanging it up in bundles in the shade, under their *balagans,* the remainder of the summer, treat it like hemp. They then spin it into thread with their fingers, and twist it round a spindle; after which they twine several threads together, according to the different purposes for which it may be designed.

Though there is little doubt but that many parts of this peninsula would admit of such cultivation as might contribute considerably to the comfort of the inhabitants, yet its real riches must always consist in the number of wild animals it produces; and no labour can ever be turned to so good account as what is employed upon their furrieries. The animals therefore which supply these come next to be considered; and these are, the common fox, the stoat, or ermine, the zibeline, or sable, the isatis, or arctic fox, the varying hare, the mountain rat, or earless marmot, the weasel, the glutton, or wolverene, the argali, or wild sheep, rein-deer, bears, wolves, dogs.

The fox[15] is the most general object of the chase; and they are found in great numbers, and of variety of colours. The most common is the same in species with the European, with this variation, that the colours are more bright and shining; some are of a dark chesnut, others are striped with dark-coloured bars, others have the belly black, and the rest of the body of a light chesnut. Some again are of a very dark brown, some black, others of a stone colour; and there are a few quite white, but these last are very scarce. Their fur is exceedingly thick and fine, and of a quality

[15] Canis vulpes.

quality much superior to those either of Siberia or America. A variety of artifices are made use of by the hunters to catch this animal, which in all climates seems to preserve the same character of craftiness and cunning. Traps of different sorts, some calculated to fall upon them, others to catch them by the feet, others by the head, are amongst the most common; to which may be added, several ingenious contrivances for taking them in nets. Poisoned baits are likewise in use; and the *nux vomica* is the drug principally employed for this purpose. Before their knowledge of the Russians, by which they became acquainted with fire-arms, they also carried bows and arrows to the chase. But since that period, almost every Kamtschadale is provided with a rifle-barrel gun; and, though far from being dexterous in the use of it, its superiority over the former instruments he is ready to acknowledge.

The sables[16] of Kamtschatka are said to be considerably larger than those of Siberia, and their fur much thicker and brighter, though not of so good a black as those in the neighbourhood of the Olekma and the Vitime,[17] a circumstance which depreciates their value much more than their superiority in other respects enhances it. The sables of the Tigil and Ouka are counted the best in Kamtschatka; and a pair of these sometimes sell for thirty roubles (five pounds sterling). The worst are those of the southern extremity. The apparatus of the sable hunters consist of a rifle-barrel gun of an exceedingly small bore, a net, and a few bricks; with the first they shoot them when they see them on the trees; the net is to surround the hollow trees, in which, when pursued, they take refuge; and the bricks are heated, and put into the cavities, in order to smoke them out.

I must refer the reader for an account of the isatis,[18] or arctic fox, to Mr Pennant's Arctic Zoology, as I never saw either the animal or the skin, which I understand they set no value upon. The varying hare[19] is also neglected on the same account. They are in great abundance; and, as is always the case with this species, turn quite white during the winter. Our shooting parties saw several of this colour the

16 Mustela zibellina.
17 Rivers emptying themselves into the Lena, near its source.
18 Canis lagopus.
19 Lepus timidus.

the beginning of May, but found them so shy, that they were not able to get within gun-shot.

The mountain-rat, or earless marmot,[20] is a beautiful little animal, considerably smaller than a squirrel, and, like it, feeds upon roots, berries, the cedar-apple, &c. which it eats sitting upon its hind-legs, and holding them up to its mouth with the paws. Its skin is much valued by the Kamtschadales, is both warm and light, and of a bright shining colour, forming, like the plumage of some birds, various colours when viewed in different lights.

The stoat, or ermine,[21] is here held in no estimation, and consequently never engages the attention of the hunters; because, as I have heard, its fur is of an ordinary kind. I saw many of these little animals running about; and we bought several of their skins, which were of a bad white, and of a dirty yellow toward the belly. The common weasel[22] is also neglected, and for the same reason.

On the contrary, the skin of the glutton, or wolverene,[23] is here in the highest repute; insomuch, that a Kamtschadale looks upon himself as most richly attired, when a small quantity of this fur is seen upon him. The women adorn their hair with its pats, which are white, and considered as an extraordinary piece of finery; and they have a superstitious opinion, that the angels are clad with the skins of those animals. It is said, that this creature is easily tamed, and taught a number of pleasant tricks.[24]

Having already had occasion to speak, as fully as my own knowledge enables me, of the bears, and the method of killing them, I shall only here observe, that all those I saw were of a dun brown colour; that they are generally seen in companies of four or five together; that the time they are most abroad is during the season that the fish (which is their principal food) are pushing up from the sea into

20 Mus citellus.

21 Mustela erminea.

22 Mustela nivalis.

23 Ursus luseus.

24 Krascheninnikoff relates, that this small animal frequently destroys deer, and the wild mountain sheep, in the following way: They scatter at the bottom of trees bark and moss, which those animals are fond of; and whilst they are picking it up, drop suddenly upon them, and, fastening behind the head, suck out their eyes.

into the rivers, and that they are seldom visible in the winter months.[25]

Their skins are exceedingly useful. They make both excellent warm matresses and coverings for their beds; comfortable bonnets and gloves, and good collars for the dogs' harness. Their flesh, and particularly the fat, are considered as great delicacies.

The wolves are only seen in the winter; at which season they prowl about, as I was told, in large companies, in search of prey.

There are rein-deer, both wild and tame, in several parts of the peninsula; but none in the neighbourhood of Awatska. It is somewhat singular, that this nation should never have used the rein-deer for the purposes of carriage, in the same manner as their neighbours, both to the north and the eastward. Their dogs, indeed, seem fully sufficient for all the demands of the natives in their present state; and the breed of Russian horses will probably increase with the future necessities of the country. But when it is recollected, that the use of dogs, in a great measure, precludes them from the advantage of bringing up any other domestic animals, it will appear the more extraordinary, that they should not have adopted the services of an animal so much more gentle as well as powerful.

The argali, or wild mountain-sheep,[26] an animal, I believe, unknown in Europe, (except in Corsica and Sardinia,) is here in great plenty. Its skin is like the deer's, but in gait and general appearance, it partakes more of the goat. It has two large twisted horns, sometimes weighing, when at full growth, from twenty-five to thirty pounds, which in running it rests upon its back. These creatures are exceedingly nimble and swift, haunt only the most craggy and mountainous parts, and make their way among the steepest rocks with an agility that is astonishing. The natives work their horns into spoons, and small cups and platters; and have frequently one of a smaller size hanging to a belt, which

[25] The Koriacks make use of a very simple method of catching bears. They suspend, between the forks of a tree, a running noose; within which they fasten a bait, which the animal, endeavouring to pull away, is caught sometimes by the neck, and sometimes by the paw.

[62] Capra ammon, or wild sheep. Arct. Zool. i. p. 12.

which serves them to drink out of in their hunting expeditions. This animal is gregarious. I frequently tasted the flesh of them, and thought it had a very sweet and delicate flavour; but never had an opportunity of seeing one alive. I must, therefore, refer the reader for a particular description of this beautiful animal, (for such it is said to be,) to the Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburg, tom. iv. tab. xiii.

I have already observed, that the dogs of this country are, in shape and mien, exceedingly like the Pomeranian, with this difference, that they are a great deal larger, and the hair somewhat coarser. They are of a variety of colours; but the most general is a light dun, or dirty cream-colour. Toward the end of May they are all turned loose, and left to provide for themselves through the summer, being sure to return to their respective homes when the snow begins to fall. Their food, in the winter, consists entirely of the head, entrails, and back-bones of salmon; which are put aside, and dried for that purpose; and with this diet they are fed but sparingly. The number of dogs must needs be very great, since five are yoked to a sledge, and a sledge carries but one person; so that on our journey to Bolcheretsk, we required no fewer than an hundred and thirty-nine, at the two stages of Karatchin and Natcheekin. It is also to be remarked, that they never make use of bitches for the draft, nor dogs, but those that are cut. The whelps are trained to this business, by being tied to stakes with light leathern thongs, which are made to stretch, and having their victuals placed at a proper distance out of their reach; so that by constantly pulling and labouring, in order to come at their food, they acquire both the strength of limbs, and the habit of drawing, that are necessary for their future destination.

The coasts and bays of this country are frequented by almost every kind of northern sea-fowl; and amongst the rest are the sea-eagles, but not, as at Oonalashka, in great numbers. The rivers inland (if I may judge from what I saw in our journey to Bolcheretsk) are stored with numerous flocks of wild-ducks of various species; one kind of which, in particular, has a most beautiful plumage, and is called by the natives *a-an-gitche;* a word intended to express its cry, which is not less singular than agreeable, consisting

sisting of three distinct notes, rising, at equal intervals, above each other.[27]

There is another species, called the mountain-duck,[28] which, Steller says, is peculiar to Kamtschatka. The drake is covered with plumage of extraordinary beauty. Besides these, we observed a variety of other water-fowl, which, from their size, seemed to be of the wild-goose kind.

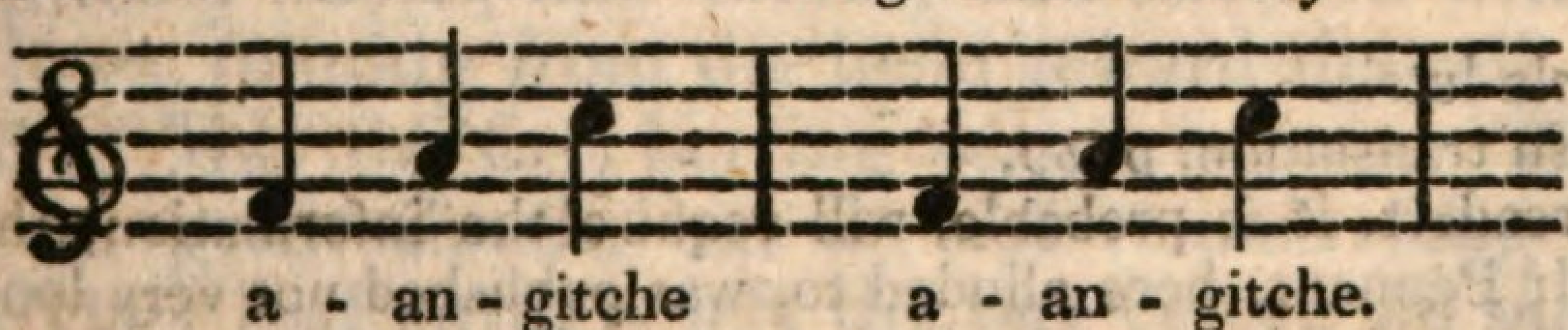
In the woods through which we passed, were seen several eagles of a prodigious size; but of what species they were I cannot pretend to determine. These are said to be of three different sorts; the black eagle, with a white head, tail, and legs;[29] of which the eaglets are as white as snow; the white eagle, so called, though in fact it is of a light grey; and the lead, or stone-coloured eagle,[30] which is the most common; and probably those I saw were of this sort. Of the hawk, falcon, and bustard kind, there are great numbers.

This country likewise affords woodcocks, snipes, and two sorts of grouse, or moor-game. Swans are also said to be in great plenty; and in their entertainments, generally to make a part of the repast, though I do not remember to have seen one on any occasion. The vast abundance of wild-fowl with which the country is stored, was manifest from the numerous presents we received from the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and which sometimes consisted of twenty brace.

We met with no amphibious sea-animals on the coast, except seals, with which the bay of Awatska swarmed; as they were at this time in pursuit of the salmon that were collecting in shoals, and ready to ascend the rivers. Some of them are said to pursue the fish into the fresh water, and to be found in most of the lakes which communicate with the sea.

The

[27] Mr Steller has made the following scale of its cry:




For a further account of this bird, I must refer the reader to Krascheninnikoff, vol. ii. part 4.

[28] Anas picta, capite pulchrè fasciato. Steller.

[29] Falco leucocephalus.

[30] Vultur albiulla.

The sea-otters[31] are exactly the same with those we met with at Nootka Sound, which have been already fully described, and where they are in great plenty. They are also said to have been formerly in equal abundance here; but, since the Russians have opened a trade for their skins to China, where they are sold at a price much beyond that of any other kind of fur, they have been hunted almost entirely out of the country. Amongst the Kurile Islands they are still caught, though in no great numbers; but are of a superior quality to those of Kamtschatka, or the American coast.

We are informed, that on Mednoi and Beering's Island, scarce a sea-otter is now to be found; though it appears from Muller,[32] that in his time they were exceedingly plentiful.

The Russian voyagers make mention of a great variety of amphibious sea-animals, which are said to frequent these coasts; the reason why we saw no other kinds might be, that this was the season of their migration.

Not having it in my power to treat these articles more fully, I conclude them with the less regret, since the ingenious Mr Pennant has a work, almost ready for publication, entitled, "Arctic Zoology;" in which the learned will receive full information concerning the animals of this peninsula. This gentleman has very obligingly communicated to me his Catalogue of Arctic Animals, with reference to his work, and permission to insert it. It will be found at the end of this section; and I feel myself extremely happy in laying it before the reader, and thereby presenting him with, what could have been furnished from no other quarter, one entire view of Kamtschadale zoology.[33]

Fish may be considered as the staple article of food with which Providence hath supplied the inhabitants of this peninsula; who, in general, must never expect to draw any considerable

[31] Mustela lutris.

[32] English translation, p. 59.

[33] Few readers, it is probable, will require the information, that the work of Mr Pennant, here alluded to, was published not very long after the appearance of this voyage, viz. in 1784. In consequence of this circumstance, it might be thought unnecessary to insert the table or catalogue of animals now spoken of. But, on the whole, there appeared more propriety in risking the offence of repetition with those who possess Mr P.'s work, than in disappointing those who do not.—E.

considerable part of their sustenance either from grain or cattle. It is true, the soil, as has been remarked, affords some good and nourishing roots, and every part of the country abounds in berries; but though these alone would be insufficient for the support of the people, yet, at the same time, they are necessary correctives of the putrescent quality of their dried fish. In short, fish may, with much greater justice, be here called the staff of life, than bread is in other countries; since it appears, that neither the inhabitants, nor the only domestic animal they have, the dog, could exist without it.

Whales are frequently seen, both in the sea of Okotzk, and on the side of the eastern ocean, and, when caught, are turned to a variety of uses. Of the skin they make the soles of their shoes, and straps and thongs for various other purposes. The flesh they eat, and the fat is carefully stored, both for kitchen use, and for their lamps. The whiskers are found to be the best materials for sewing together the seams of their canoes; they likewise make nets of them for the larger kind of fish; and with the under-jaw-bones their sledges are shod. They likewise work the bones into knives; and formerly the chains with which their dogs are tied, were made of that material, though at present iron ones are generally used. The intestines they clean, then blow and dry like bladders, and it is in these their oil and grease is stored; and of the nerves and veins, which are both strong and slip readily, they make excellent snares; so that there is no part of the whale which here does not find its use.

From the middle of May, till our departure on the 24th of June, we caught great quantities of excellent flat-fish, trout, and herrings. Upward of three hundred of the former, besides a number of sea-trout, were dragged out at one haul of the seine, the 15th of May. These flat-fish are firm, and of a good flavour, studded upon the back with round prickly knobs, like turbot, and streaked with dark-brown lines, running from the head toward the tail. About the end of May the first herring season begins. They approach in great shoals, but do not remain long on the coast. They had entirely left the bay before we sailed out of it the first time, but were beginning to revisit it again in October. It has been already mentioned, that the herrings were remarkably fine and large, and that we filled a great part

part of our empty casks with them. The beginning of June large quantities of excellent cod were taken; a part of which were likewise salted. We caught too, at different times, numbers of small fish, much resembling a smelt, and once drew out a wolf-fish.

Notwithstanding this abundance of flat-fish, cod, and herring, it is on the salmon-fishery alone that the Kamtschadales depend for their winter provisions. Of these, it is said by naturalists, there are to be found on this coast all the different species that are known to exist, and which the natives formerly characterized by the different months in which they ascend the rivers. They say, too, that though the shoals of different sorts are seen to mount the rivers at the same time, yet they never mix with each other; that they always return to the same river in which they were bred, but not till the third summer; that neither the male nor female live to regain the sea; that certain species frequent certain rivers, and are never found in others, though they empty themselves nearly at the same place.

The first shoals of salmon begin to enter the mouth of the Awatska about the middle of May; and this kind, which is called by the Kamtschadales *Tchavitsi*, is the largest and most valued. Their length is generally about three feet and a half; they are very deep in proportion, and their average weight is from thirty to forty pounds. The tail is not forked, but straight. The back is of a dark blue, spotted with black; in other respects they are much like our common salmon. They ascend the river with extraordinary velocity, insomuch that the water is sensibly agitated by their motion; and the Kamtschadales, who are always on the watch for them about the time they are expected, judge of their approach by this circumstance, and immediately let drop their nets before them. We were presented with one of the first that was caught, and given to understand that it was the greatest compliment that could be paid us. Kracheninnikoff relates, that formerly the Kamtschadales made a point of eating the first fish they took with great rejoicings, and a variety of superstitious ceremonies; and that, after the Russians became their masters, it was for a long time a constant subject of quarrel between them, to whom the first should belong. The season for fishing for this species lasts from the middle of May till the end of June.

The

The other sort is of a smaller kind, weighing only from eight to sixteen pounds. They are known by the general name of the red fish, and begin to collect in the bays and at the mouths of the rivers the beginning of June; from which time till the end of September, they are caught in great quantities, both upon the eastern and western coast, where any fresh water falls into the sea, and likewise all along the course of the rivers to their very source. The manner in which they draw their nets within the bay of Awatska is as follows: They tie one end of the net to a large stone at the water's edge; they then push off in a canoe about twenty yards in a right line, dropping their net as they advance, after which they turn and run out the remainder of the net in a line parallel to the shore. In this position they wait, concealing themselves very carefully in the boat, and keeping a sharp look-out for the fish, which always direct their course close in with the shore, and whose approach is announced by a rippling in the water, till they find that the shoal has advanced beyond the boat, when they shoot the canoe to shore in a direct line, and never fail of inclosing their prey. Seldom more than two men are employed to a net, who haul with facility, in this manner, seines larger than ours, to which we appoint a dozen. We at first met with very poor success in our own method of hauling; but after the Kamtschadales had very kindly put us in the way, we were not less successful than themselves. In the rivers, they shoot one net across, and haul another down the stream to it.

The lakes that have a communication with the sea, which was the case of all those that I saw, abound with fish that have very much the resemblance of small salmon, and are from four to six pounds weight. I could not understand that the inhabitants thought it worth their while to fish for them. As these lakes are not deep, they become an easy prey to the bears and dogs during the summer; and, if I might judge from the quantity of bones to be seen upon the banks, they devour vast numbers of them.

The inhabitants, for the most part, dry their salmon, and salt very little of it. Each fish is cut into three pieces, the belly-piece being first taken off, and afterward a slice along each side the back-bone. The former of these are dried and smoked, and esteemed the finest part of the fish, and sold, when we were at Saint Peter and Saint Paul's, at the rate

rate of one hundred for a rouble. The latter are dried in the air, and either eaten whole as bread, or reduced to powder, of which they make paste and cakes, that are not unpleasant to the taste. The head, tail, and bones are hung up, and dried for winter provision for the dogs.

*List of Animals found in Kamtschadale, communicated by Mr Pennant.*[1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Argali, wild sheep, Arct. Zool. vol. i. p. 12. | | *Capra ammon*, Lin. Syst. | 97 |
| Ibex, *or* wild goat | 16 | *Capra ibex* | 90 |
| * Rein | 22 | *Cervus tarandus* | 93 |
| * Wolf | 38 | *Canis lupus* | 53 |
| * Dog | 40 | | |
| * Arctic fox | 42 | *Canis lagopus* | 59 |
| * European fox | 45 | *Canis vulpes* | 59 |
| * a. black | 46 | | |
| b. cross | ib. | | |
| * Polar bear, in the Frozen Sea only | 55 | *Ursus arctos* | 69 |
| * Bear | 57 | *Ursus arctos.* | |
| * Wolverene | 66 | *Ursus luscus* | 71 |
| * Common weasel | 75 | *Mustela nivalis* | 69 |
| * Stoat, *or* ermine | ib. | *Mustela erminea* | 68 |
| * Sable | 79 | *Mustela zibellina* | 68 |
| Common otter | 86 | *Mustela lutra* | 66 |
| * Sea otter | 88 | *Mustela lutris* | 66 |
| * Varying hare | 94 | *Lepus timidus.* | |
| Alpine hare | 97 | | |
| * Earless marmot | 113 | *Mus citellus* | 113 |
| Bobak marmot | 115 | | |
| Water rat | 130 | *Mus amphibius* | 82 |
| Common mouse | 131 | *Mus Musculus* | 83 |
| Œconomic mouse | 134 | | |
| Red mouse | 136 | | |
| Ichelag mouse | 138 | | |
| Fœtid shrew | 139 | *Sorex araneus* | 74 |
| * Walrus. Icy sea | 144 | *Trichecus rosmarus* | 49 |
| * Common seal | 151 | *Phoca vitulina* | 56 |
| Great seal | 159 | | |
| Leporine seal | 161 | | |
| Harp seal | 163 | | |
| Rubbon seal. Kurile Isles | 165 | | |
| Ursine seal | ib. | *Phoca ursina* | 58 |
| Leonine seal | 172 | | |
| * Whale-tailed manati | 177 | | |

There

[1] The quadrupeds and birds mentioned in this part of the voyage are marked in this list with an asterisk.

There were no domestic animals in Kamtschatka till they were introduced by the Russians. The dogs, which seem to be of wolfish descent, are aboriginal.

## BIRDS.

### LAND BIRDS.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Sea eagle. Vol. II. p. | 194 | *Falco ossifragus* . . | 124 |
| | * Cinereous eagle . | 214 | *Vultur albiulla* . . | 123 |
| | * White-headed eagle | 196 | *Falco leucocephalus* . | ib. |
| | Crying eagle . | 215 | (Latham, I. 38.) | |
| | Osprey . . | 199 | *Falco haliætus* . . | 129 |
| | Peregrine falcon . | 202 | (Latham, I. 73.[1]) | |
| | Goshawk . . | 204 | *Falco palumbarius* . | 130 |
| II. | Eagle owl . . | 228 | *Strix bubo* . . . | 131 |
| | Snowy owl . | 233 | *Strix nyctea* . . | 132 |
| III. | Raven . . | 246 | *Corvus corax* . . | 155 |
| | Magpye . . | 147 | *Corvus pica* . . . | 157 |
| | Nutcracker . | 252 | *Corvus caryocatactes* . | ib. |
| IV. | Cuckoo . . | 266 | *Cuculus canorus* . . | 168 |
| V. | Wryneck . . | 267 | *Jynx torquilla* . . | 172 |
| VI. | Nuthatch . . | 281 | *Sitta Europea* . . | 177 |
| VII. | White grous . | 308 | *Tetrao lagopus* . . | 274 |
| | Wood grous . | 312 | *Tetrao urogallus* . . | 273 |
| VIII. | Water ouzel . | 332 | *Sturnus cinclus.* | |
| IX. | Fieldfare . . | 340 | *Turdus pilaris* . . | 291 |
| | Redwing thrush | 341 | *Turdus iliacus* . . | 291 |
| | Kamtschatkan . | 343 | (Latham, III. 23.) | |
| X. | Greenfinch . | 353 | *Loxia chloris* . . | 304 |
| XI. | Golden bunting . | 367 | (Latham, II. 201.) | |
| XII. | Lesser red-headed linnet . . | 379 | (Latham, II. 305.) | |
| XIII. | Dun fly-catcher | 390 | (Latham, II. 351.) | |
| XIV. | Sky-lark . . | 394 A. | *Alauda arvensis* . . | 287 |
| | Wood-lark . | 395 B. | *Alauda arborea* . . | ib. |
| XV. | White wagtail . | 396 E. | *Motacilla alba* . . | 331 |
| | Yellow wagtail . | ib. F. | *Motacilla flava* . . | ib. |
| | Tschutski wagtail | 397 H. | (Latham, IV. 403.) | |
| XVI. | Yellow wren . | 413 | *Motacilla trochilus* . | 338 |
| | Redstart . . | 416 | *Motacilla phœnicurus* . | 335 |
| | Longbilled . | 420 | | |
| | Stapazina . . | 421 | *Motacilla stapazina* . | 331 |
| | Awatska . . | 422 | | |
| XVII. | Marsh titmouse | 427 | *Parus palustris* . . | 341 |
| XVIII. | Chimney swallow | 429 | *Hirundo rustica* . . | 343 |
| | Martin . . | 430 | *Hirundo urbica* . . | 344 |
| | Sand martin . | ib. | *Hirundo riparia* . . | ib. |
| XIX. | European goatsucker | 437 | *Caprimulgus Europeus* . | 346 |

WATER

[1] The birds, which are not described by Linnæus, are referred to the History of Birds, published by Mr Latham, surgeon in Dartford, Kent.

### WATER FOWL.

*Cloven-footed Water Fowl.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Crane . . | P. 453 A. | *Ardeagrus* . . . | 334 |
| Curlew . . | P. 462 A. | *Scolopax arquata* . . | 242 |
| Whimbrel . . | P. 462 B. | *Scolopax phæopus* . . | 243 |
| Common sandpiper | No 388 | *Tringa hypoleucos* . . | 250 |
| Gambet . . | No 394 | *Tringa gambetta* . . | 248 |
| Golden plover . | No 399 | *Charadrius pluvialis* . | 254 |
| Pied oyster-catcher | No | *Hæmatopus ostralegus* . | 257 |

*With pinnated Feet.*

Plain phalarope.

*With webbed Feet.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wandering albatross | No 423 | *Diomedea exulans* . . | 214 |
| Razor-bill hawk . | No 425 | *Alca torda* . . . | 210 |
| Puffin . . | No 427 | *Alca arctica* . . . | 211 |
| Antient . . | No 430 | | |
| Pygmy . . | No 431 | | |
| Tufted . . | No 432 | | |
| Parroquet . . | No 433 | | |
| Crested . . | No 434 | | |
| Dusky . . | No 435 | | |
| Foolish guillemot . | No 436 | *Colymbus troille* . . | 220 |
| Black guillemot . | No 437 | *Colymbus grylle.* . | ib. |
| Marbled guillemot . | No 438 | | |
| Imber diver . . | No 440 | *Colymbus immer* . . | 222 |
| Speckled diver . | No 441 | | |
| Red-throated diver . | No 443 | *Colymbus septentrionalis* | 220 |
| Great tern . . | No 448 | *Sterna hirundo.* | |
| Kamtschatkan . | P. 525 A. | | |
| Black-headed gull . | No 455 | *Larus ridibundus* . . | 225 |
| Kittiwake gull . | No 456 | *Larus rissa* . . . | 224 |
| Ivory gull . . | No 457 | | |
| Arctic gull . . | No 459 | | |
| Tarrock . . | P. 533 D. | *Larus tridactylus* . . | ib. |
| Red-legged . . | P. 533 E. | | |
| Fulmar petrel . | No 464 | *Procellaria glacialis* . | 213 |
| Stormy petrel . . | No 464 | *Procellaria pelagica* . | 212 |
| Kurile petrel . . | P. 536 A. | | |
| Blue petrel.[1] Preface. | | | |
| Goosander merganser | No 465 | *Mergus merganser* . | 208 |
| Smew . . | No 468 | *Mergus albellus* . . | 209 |
| Whistling swan . | No 469 | *Anas Cygnus ferus* . | 194 A. |
| Great goose . . | P. 570 | | |
| Chinese goose . | P. 571 | *Anas cygnoides* . | 194 B. |

Snow

[1] I never saw this, but it is mentioned by Mr Ellis. I had omitted it in my zoologic part.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Snow goose . . | No 477 | | |
| Brent goose . . | No 478 | *Anas bernicla* . . | 198 |
| Eider duck . . | No 480 | *Anas molissima* . . | ib. |
| Black duck . . | No 483 | *Anas spectabilis* . . | 195 |
| Velvet duck . . | No 481 | *Anas fusca* . . . | 196 |
| Shoveler . . | No 485 | *Anas clypeata* . . | 200 |
| Golden eye . . | No 486 | *Anas clangula* . . | 201 |
| Harlequin . . | No 490 | *Anas histrionica* . . | 204 |
| Mallard . . | No 494 | *Anas boschas* . . | 205 |
| * Western . . | No 497 | | |
| Pintail . . | No 500 | *Anas acuta* . . . | 202 |
| * Longtailed . | No 501 | *Anas glacialis* . . | 203 |
| Morillon . . | P. 573 F. | *Anas glaucion* . . | 201 |
| Shieldrake . . | P. 572 D. | *Anas tadorna* . . | 195 |
| Tufted . . | P. 573 G. | *Anas fuligula* . . | 207 |
| Falcated . . | P. 574 I. | | |
| Garganey . . | P. 576 O. | *Anas querquedula* . | 263 |
| Teal . . | P. 577 P. | *Anas crecia* . . . | 204 |
| Corvorant . . | No 509 | *Pelecanus carbo* . . | 216 |
| Violet corvorant . | P. 584 B. | | |
| Red-faced corvorant . | P. 584 C. | | |

## Section VII.

*General Account of Kamtschatka, continued.—Of the Inhabitants.—Origin of the Kamtschadales.—Discovered by the Russians.—Abstract of their History.—Numbers.—Present State.—Of the Russian Commerce in Kamtschatka.—Of the Kamtschadale Habitations, and Dress.—Of the Kurile Islands.—The Koreki.—The Tschutski.*

The present inhabitants of Kamtschatka are of three sorts. The natives, or Kamtschadales; the Russians and Cossacks; and a mixture of these two by marriage.

Mr Steller, who resided sometime in this country, and who seems to have taken great pains to gain information on this subject, is persuaded, that the true Kamtschadales are a people of great antiquity, and have for many ages inhabited this peninsula; and that they are originally descended from the Mungallians, and not either from the Tungusian Tartars, as some, or the Japanese, as others have imagined.

The principal arguments, by which he supports these opinions, are, That there exists not among them the trace of a tradition of their having migrated from any other country; that they believe themselves to have been created and placed in this very spot by their god Koutkou;

that they are the most favoured of his creatures; the most fortunate and happy of beings; and that their country is superior to all others, affording means of gratification far beyond what are any where else to be met with; that they have a perfect knowledge of all the plants of their country, their virtues and uses, which could not be acquired in a short time; that their instruments and household utensils differ greatly from those of any other nation, and are made with an extraordinary degree of neatness and dexterity, which implies that they are both of their own invention, and have been long in arriving at so great perfection; that, antecedently to the arrival of the Russians and Cossacks among them, they had not the smallest knowledge of any people, except the Koreki; that it is but of late they had an intercourse with the Kuriles, and still later (and happened by means of a vessel being shipwrecked on their coast) that they knew any thing of the Japanese; and, lastly, that the country was very populous at the time the Russians first got footing in it.

The reasons he alleges for supposing them to be originally descended from the Mungalians, are, That many words in their language have terminations similar to those of the Mungalian Chinese, such as, ong, ing, oing, tching, tcha, tchoing, ksi, ksung, &c.; and, moreover, that the same principle of inflexion or derivation obtains in both languages; that they are in general under-sized, as are the Mungalians; that their complexion, like theirs, is swarthy; that they have black hair, little beard, the face broad, the nose short and flat, the eyes small and sunk, the eye-brows thin, the belly pendant, the legs small; all which are peculiarities that are to be found among the Mungalians. From the whole of which he draws this conclusion, that they fled for safety to this peninsula, from the rapid advances of the Eastern conquerors; as the Laplanders, the Samoides, &c. were compelled to retreat to the extremities of the north by the Europeans.

The Russians having extended their conquests, and established posts and colonies along that immense extent of coast of the Frozen Sea, from the Jenesei to the Anadir, appointed commissaries for the purpose of exploring and subjecting the countries still farther eastward. They soon became acquainted with the wandering Koriacs, inhabiting the north and north-east coast of the sea of Okotzk, and, without

without difficulty, made them tributary. These being the immediate neighbours of the Kamtschadales, and likewise in the habits of bartering with them, a knowledge of Kamtschatka followed of course.

The honour of the first discovery is given to Feodot Alexeieff, a merchant, who is said to have sailed from the river Kovyma, round the peninsula of the Tschutski, in company with seven other vessels, about the year 1648. The tradition goes, that, being separated from the rest by a storm, near the Tschukotskoi Noss, he was driven upon the coast of Kamtschatka, where he wintered; and the summer following coasted round the promontory of Lopatka, into the sea of Okotzk, and entered the mouth of the Tigil; but that he and his companions were cut off by the Koriacs, in endeavouring to pass from thence by land to the Anadirsk. This, in part, is corroborated by the accounts of Simeon Deshneff, who commanded one of the seven vessels, and was thrown on shore at the mouth of the Anadir. Be this as it may, since these discoverers, if such they were, did not live to make any report of what they had done, Volodimir Atlassoff, a Cossack, stands for the first acknowledged discoverer of Kamtschatka.[1]

This person was sent, in the year 1697, from the fort Jakutzk to the Anadirsk, in the quality of commissary, with instructions to call in the assistance of the Koriacs, with a view to the discovery of countries beyond theirs, and to the subjecting them to a tribute. In 1699, he penetrated, with about sixty Russian soldiers, and the same number of Cossacks, into the heart of the peninsula; gained the Tigil; and from thence levying a tribute in furs, in his progress crossed over to the river Kamtschatka, on which he built the higher Kamtschatka ostrog, called Verchnei, where he left a garrison of sixteen Cossacks, and returned to Jakutzk in 1700, with an immense quantity of rare and valuable tributary furs. These he had the good sense and policy to accompany to Moscow; and, in recompence for his services, was appointed commander of the fort of Jakutzk, with farther orders to repair again to Kamtschatka; having first drawn

[1] It is proper to remark, that Atlassoff sent an advanced party, under the command of a subaltern, called Lucas Moloskoff, who certainly penetrated into Kamtschatka, and returned with an account of his success before Atlassoff set out, and is therefore not unjustly mentioned as the discoverer of Kamtschatka.

drawn from the garrison at Tobolsk a reinforcement of a hundred Cossacks, with ammunition, and whatever else could give efficacy to the completion and settlement of his late discoveries. Advancing with this force toward the Anadirsk, he fell in with a bark on the river[2] Tunguska, laden with Chinese merchandize, which he pillaged; and, in consequence of a remonstrance from the sufferers to the Russian court, he was seized upon at Jakutzk, and thrown into prison.

In the mean time, Potop Serioukoff, who had been left by Atlassoff, kept peaceable possession of the garrison of Verchnei; and though he had not a sufficient force to compel the payment of a tribute from the natives, yet, by his management and conciliating disposition, he continued to carry on an advantageous traffic with them as a merchant. On his return to the Anadirsk, with the general good-will of the natives of Kamtschatka, himself and party were attacked by the Koriacs, and unfortunately all cut off. This happened about 1703; and several other successive commissaries were sent into Kamtschatka, with various success, during the disgrace and trial of Atlassoff.

In 1706, Atlassoff was reinstated in his command, and appointed to conduct a second expedition into Kamtschatka, with instructions to gain upon the natives by all peaceable means, but on no pretence to have recourse to force and compulsion; but, instead of attending to his orders, he not only, by repeated acts of cruelty and injustice, made the natives exceedingly hostile and averse to their new governors, but likewise so far alienated the affections of his own people, that it ended in a mutiny of the Cossacks, and their demand of another commander. The Cossacks having carried their point, in displacing Atlassoff, seized upon his effects; and, after once tasting the sweets of plunder, and of living without discipline or controul, in vain did his successors attempt to reduce them to military discipline and subjection. Three successive commanders were assassinated in their turn; and the Cossacks being thus in open rebellion to the Russian government, and with arms in their hands, were let loose upon the natives. The history of this country from that period, till the grand revolt of the Kamtschadales in 1731, presents one unvaried detail of massacres,

[2] This river empties itself into the Jenesei.

cres, revolts, and savage and sanguinary rencounters between small parties, from one end of the peninsula to the other.

What led to this revolt, was the discovery of a passage from Okotzk to the Bolchoireka, which was first made by Cosmo Sokoloff, in the year 1715. Hitherto the Russians had no entrance into the country but on the side of Anadirsk; so that the natives had frequent opportunities of both plundering the tribute, as it was carried by so long a journey out of the peninsula, and harassing the troops in their march into it. But by the discovery of this communication, there existed a safe and speedy means, as well of exporting the tribute, as of importing the troops and military stores into the very heart of the country; which the natives easily saw gave the Russians so great an advantage, as must soon confirm their dominion, and therefore determined them to make one grand and immediate struggle for their liberty. The moment resolved upon for carrying their designs into execution, was when Beering should have set sail, who was at this time on the coast with a small squadron, and had dispatched all the troops that could well be spared from the country, to join Powloutski, in an expedition against the Tschutski. The opportunity was well chosen; and it is altogether surprising, that this conspiracy, which was so general, that every native in the peninsula is said to have had his share in it, was at the same time conducted with such secrecy, that the Russians had not the smallest suspicion that any thing hostile to their interests was in agitation. Their other measures were equally well taken. They had a strong body in readiness to cut off all communication with the fort Anadirsk; and the eastern coast was likewise lined with detached parties, with a view of seizing on any Russians that might by accident arrive from Okotzk. Things were in this state, when the commissary Cheekhaerdin marched from Verchnei with his tribute, escorted by the troops of the fort, for the mouth of the Kamtschatka river, where a vessel was lying to convey them to the Anadir. Besides waiting for the departure of Beering, the revolt was to be suspended till this vessel should be out at sea, notice of which was to be given to the different chiefs. Accordingly, the moment she was out of sight, they began to massacre every Russian and Cossack that came in their way, and to set fire to their houses.

A large

A large body ascended the river Kamtschatka; made themselves masters of the fort and *ostrog* the commissary had just quitted; put to death all that were in it, and, except the church and the fort, reduced the whole to ashes. Here it was that they first learned that the Russian vessel, in which the commissary had embarked, was still on the coast, which determined them to defend themselves in the fort. The wind fortunately soon brought the vessel back to the harbour; for had she proceeded in her voyage, nothing probably could have prevented the utter extirpation of the Russians. The Cossacks finding, on their landing, that their houses had been burnt to the ground, and their wives and children either massacred or carried off prisoners, were enraged to madness. They marched directly to the fort, which they attacked with great fury, and the natives as resolutely defended, till at length the powder-magazine taking fire, the fort was blown up, together with most of those that were in it. Various rencounters succeeded to this event, in which much blood was spilled on both sides. At length, two of the principal leaders being slain, and the third, (after dispatching his wife and children, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hand,) having put an end to himself, peace was established.

From that period every thing went on very peaceably till the year 1740, when a few Russians lost their lives in a tumult, which was attended with no farther consequences; and, except the insurrection at Bolcheretsk, in 1770, (which has been already noticed,) there has been no disturbance since.

Though the quelling the rebellion of 1731 was attended with the loss of a great number of inhabitants, yet I was informed that the country had recovered itself, and was become more populous than ever, when, in the year 1767, the small-pox, brought by a soldier from Okotzk, broke out among them for the first time, marking its progress with ravages not less dreadful than the plague, and seeming to threaten their entire extirpation. They compute that near twenty thousand died of this disorder in Kamtschatka, the Koreki country, and the Kurile Islands. The inhabitants of whole villages were swept away. Of this we had sufficient proofs before our eyes. There are no less than eight ostrogs scattered about the bay of Awatska, all which, we were informed, had been fully inhabited, but are now entirely de-

solate,

solate, except Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and even that contains no more than seven Kamtschadales, who are tributary. At Paratounca ostrog there are but thirty-six native inhabitants, men, women, and children, which, before it was visited by the small-pox, we were told contained three hundred and sixty. In our road to Bolcheretsk, we passed four extensive ostrogs, with not an inhabitant in them. In the present diminished state of the natives, with fresh supplies of Russians and Cossacks perpetually pouring in, and who intermix with them by marriage, it is probable, that in less than half a century there will be very few of them left. By Major Behm's account, there are not now more than three thousand who pay tribute, the Kurile islanders included.[3]

I understood

[3] Captain Krusenstern informs us, that the people in Kamtschatska, and more especially the Kamtschadales, are decreasing in number very rapidly, and from different causes. They are subject to several epidemic complaints; one of which, he says, carried off upwards of five thousand persons in the years 1800 and 1801. But the principal causes of depopulation, which, if not speedily removed, threaten the total extinction of the inhabitants, are not dependent on the severity, or even any peculiar maladies of the climate. It is to the excessive use of spirits, and an extraordinary disproportion in the number of females, that this serious evil is to be chiefly imputed. The great moral defect in the character of the native Kamtschadale, is his propensity to drunkenness; in which, it will readily be believed, he finds companions amongst his neighbours; and in which, still more unfortunately, he is absolutely encouraged, for the most fraudulent purposes, by the petty agents of the American Company, and the other merchants in Kamtschatka. Nothing can be more infamous than what is related by Krusenstern on this subject. Let the following description suffice. It is applied by K. indeed to a state of matters which formerly existed without controul, but which the government, he would have us believe, has lately endeavoured to destroy. How far this interference has availed, or is likely to avail, may be conjectured, though not without some very painful emotions, from the circumstance admitted by K. himself, that there are few Kamtschadales remaining on whom its benefits can operate; and the opinion he has also given, that before many years have elapsed, these few will perhaps have entirely disappeared! "With no other wares," says this candid man, "than a large quantity of very bad gin, the merchants travelled about the country to procure furs. As soon as one of them arrived in an ostrog, he treated his host with a glass of spirits. The Kamtschadales are all so unfortunately attached to strong liquors, that it is absolutely impossible for them to resist the pleasure of getting intoxicated. As soon as he has drank a glass of gin, which he receives for nothing, he instantly begs another, for which, however, he must pay; then a second, a third, and so on. Still, however, he has had his spirits unadulterated; but the moment he begins to be intoxicated, instead

I understood that there are at this time, of the military, in the five forts of Nichnei, Verchnei, Tigil, Bolcheretsk, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, about four hundred Russians and Cossacks, and near the same number at Ingiga, which, though to the north of the peninsula, is, I learned, at present under the commander of Kamtschatka; to these may

instead of pure spirits, they give it him mixed with water; and in order that the deception may be carried on with the more security, the merchants have the vessels, destined for the spirits, called *fliäga*, divided into two parts; in the smaller one of which they carry their unmixed spirits, and in the other the mixed. The merchant now continues to ply the Kamtschadale with the weaker liquor, until he becomes perfectly senseless, and then takes possession of his whole stock of sables and other furs, alleging, that they are to pay for the quantity of spirits which he has drank. Thus, in an unfortunate moment, the Kamtschadale loses the reward of many months labour and cost; and, instead of providing himself with powder and shot, and other necessary and indispensable articles, such as would have contributed to his own and his family's comfort, he has exhausted all his wealth for one debauch, which only weakens him, and renders him more helpless and destitute for the future. This wretchedness is accompanied by a depression of spirits, which must have a pernicious influence on his body, already weakened by disease, and which, at length, from the total want of substantial food, and of medical assistance, becomes unable to resist such frequent attacks upon it. This appears to me the cause of their annual decrease, assisted by epidemical disorders, which sweep them off in great numbers." But another cause has been assigned in addition to this very deplorable one, and this it may now be necessary to specify a little more particularly. Let the words of the same writer be taken in evidence, and we may say we have very little reason indeed to give ourselves any concern about the condition of the people in this distant settlement.—" The prospect of any increase of the inhabitants of Kamtschatka was very much diminished, not only by the smallness of the number of the remaining Russians and Kamtschadales, but by that of the women bearing no kind of proportion to the men. At Saint Peter and Saint Paul, where the number of inhabitants, including the military, amounts to one hundred and fifty, or one hundred and eighty persons, there are not five-and-twenty females. It frequently happens, that the company's ships and transports winter here, and the number of men is often increased to five hundred; while, on the other hand, that of the women remains always the same. The consequences of this pernicious disproportion are unproductive marriages, and a total decline of all morals. I do not remember to have seen more than five or six children at Kamtschatka, and these partly belonged to the officers, and partly to such of the inhabitants as had distinguished themselves by their exemplary conduct. All the marriages, with the exception of three or four, were entirely unproductive." It is almost needless to remark, that if the suggestions which Krusenstern has given, have not been adopted and acted on, the superiority of the diminishing agents will have wrought such an effect since his visit, as may render it problematical whether or not this country ought to be reckoned amongst the inhabited regions of the earth.—E.

may be added the Russian traders and emigrants, whose numbers are not very considerable.

The Russian government, established over this country, is mild and equitable, considered as a military one, in a very high degree. The natives are permitted to choose their own magistrates from among themselves, in the way, and with the same powers, they had ever been used. One of these, under the title of *Toion*, presides over each ostrog; is the referee in all differences; imposes fines, and inflicts punishments for all crimes and misdemeanours; referring to the governor of Kamtschatka such only as he does not choose, from their intricacy or heinousness, to decide upon himself. The Toion has likewise the appointment of a civil officer, called a corporal, who assists him in the execution of his office, and in his absence acts as his deputy.[4]

By

[4] The Tayon, or Toyon, according to Krusenstern, is a person chosen from amongst the inhabitants, and has a character somewhat similar to that of *starost*, or elder, in the Russian villages. He has an officer under him, who bears the title of *jessaul*, the corporal of the tent, who, properly speaking, holds the executive authority of the ostrog, as the tayon seldom does more than deliver orders to him. When the tayon is absent, the jessaul assumes his place, and is supported by the eldest Kamtschadale in the ostrog, who, for the time being, becomes his substitute as jessaul. The power of the tayon is said to be considerable, extending to the infliction of corporal punishment, not, however, exceeding twenty lashes; and his duty, in addition to the internal administration of his ostrog, consists in collecting the best sables as a tribute to the government, and carrying them to town, where they are examined by certain magistrates, appointed for the purpose, and afterwards taxed by a person authorised by the crown. Enough has been already shewn, it may be thought, for calling in question the mildness, or at least the good policy, of the government established here. A circumstance is mentioned by Krusenstern, which seems to imply something very different, though lately modified, we are told, and not without reason, as, to use his own words, it is surprising that people could have endured it for a single hour. It may be explained in a few words. The capitation tax, which is common throughout the Russian empire, is levied according to a census, or revision, which is generally taken every twenty years. Where the population is on the increase, this is manifestly an advantage to the subjects, who would necessarily have more to pay, if the imposition were accurately adjusted to the annual augmentation of numbers. But the operation of the principle becomes peculiarly oppressive, where, on the contrary, as in Kamtschatka, the population has been gradually diminishing, and, during some years, had been rapidly reduced. Thus, in many of the ostrogs, we are told, that the inhabitants had declined from thirty or forty, to eight or ten; and yet the tribute continued to be levied on the remainder, according to the preceding census!

This

By an edict of the empress, no crime whatsoever can be punished with death. But we were informed, that in cases of murder (of which there are very few), the punishment of the knout is administered with such severity, that the offender, for the most part, dies under it.

The only tribute exacted (which can be considered as little more than an acknowledgment of the Russian dominion over them) consists, in some districts, of a fox's skin; in others, of a sable's; and in the Kurile Isles, of a sea-otter's; but as this is much the most valuable, one skin serves to pay the tribute of several persons. The Toions collect the tribute in their respective districts. Besides the mildness of their government, the Russians have a claim to every praise for the pains they have bestowed, and which have been attended with great success, in converting them to Christianity, there remaining at present very few idolaters among them. If we may judge of the other missionaries, from the hospitable and benevolent pastor of Paratounca (who is a native on the mother's side), more suitable persons could not be set over this business. It is needless to add, that the religion taught is that of the Greek church.[3] Schools are likewise established in many of the ostrogs, where the children of both the natives and Cossacks are gratuitously instructed in the Russian language. The

This was, in reality, the *caput mortuum* of taxation, and perhaps was never equalled, at least never surpassed, in absurdity, by the *ways and means* of any other government. Had this system continued for any length of time, it is probable, that one or two individuals would at length have had the *supreme* felicity of being in reality the representatives of a whole nation, and of course of paying for the extraordinary honour. This reminds one of a curious enough occurrence said to have happened after a battle in Germany, in which a regiment, belonging to the Earl of Tyrconnel, had been engaged. A general muster having taken place, his Lordship's regiment was of course called for, when a soldier, stepping from the ranks, immediately replied, "I am Lord Tyrconnel's regiment!" In fact, the poor fellow was the only responsible survivor.—E.

[3] Krusenstern, who, as we have seen, is far from sparing the laity in the distribution of his censures, makes every bit as free with the clergy. "The priest of St Peter and St Paul," says he, "was a scandal to his profession; in the interior, they are said to be no better, and to be particularly obnoxious to the Kamtschadales." This is a serious evil, no doubt, but it may reasonably be expected to cease with the complaints of the parishioners, as it is very unlikely that at Kamtschatka as elsewhere, there should be found any shepherds without flocks. To be sure, in some other countries, where this occasionally happens, there is this important difference, that the pasture at least is worth looking after!—E.

The commerce of this country, as far as concerns the exports, is entirely confined to furs, and carried on principally by a company of merchants, instituted by the empress. This company originally consisted of twelve, and three have been lately added to it. They are indulged with certain privileges, and distinguished by wearing a golden medal, as a mark of the empress's encouragement and protection of the fur-trade. Besides these, there are many inferior traders (particularly of the Cossacks) scattered through the country. The principal merchants for the time they are here, reside at Bolcheretsk, or the Nichnei ostrog, in which two places the trade almost wholly centers. Formerly this commerce was altogether carried on in the way of barter, but of late years every article is bought and sold for ready money only; and we were surprised at the quantity of specie in circulation in so poor a country. The furs sell at a high price, and the situation and habits of life of the natives call for few articles in return. Our sailors brought a great number of furs with them from the coast of America, and were not less astonished than delighted with the quantity of silver the merchants paid down for them; but on finding neither gin-shops to resort to, nor tobacco, nor any thing else that they cared for, to be had for money, the roubles soon became troublesome companions; and I often observed them kicking about the deck. The merchant I have already had occasion to mention, gave our men at first thirty roubles for a sea-otter's skin, and for others in proportion; but finding that they had considerable quantities to dispose of, and that he had men to deal with who did not know how to keep up the market, he afterward bought them for much less.

The articles of importation are principally European, but not confined to Russian manufactures; many are English and Dutch; several likewise come from Siberia, Bucharia, the Calmucks, and China. They consist of coarse woollen and linen clothes, yarn-stockings, bonnets, and gloves; thin Persian silks; cottons, and pieces of nankeen, silk and cotton handkerchiefs; brass coppers and pans, iron-stoves, files, guns, powder, and shot; hardware, such as hatchets, bills, knives, scissars, needles; looking-glasses, flour, sugar; tanned hides, boots, &c. We had an opportunity of seeing a great many of these articles in the hands of a merchant, who came in the empress's galliot from Okotzk;

Okotzk; and I shall only observe generally, that they sold for treble the price they might have been purchased for in England. And though the merchants have so large a profit upon these imported goods, they have a still larger upon the furs at Kiachta, upon the frontiers of China, which is the great market for them. The best sea-otter skins sell generally in Kamtschatka for about thirty roubles a-piece. The Chinese merchant at Kiachta purchases them at more than double that price, and sells them again at Pekin at a great advance, where a farther profitable trade is made with some of them to Japan. If, therefore, a skin is worth thirty roubles in Kamtschatka, to be transported first to Okotzk, thence to be conveyed by land to Kiachta, a distance of one thousand three hundred and sixty-four miles; and thence on to Pekin, seven hundred and sixty miles more; and after this to be transported to Japan, what a prodigiously advantageous trade might be carried on between this place and Japan, which is about a fortnight's, or at most three weeks, sail from it?

All furs exported from hence across the sea of Okotzk, pay a duty of ten per cent., and sables a duty of twelve. And all sorts of merchandise, of whatever denomination, imported from Okotzk, pay half a rouble for every pood.[6]

The duties arising from the exports and imports, of which I could not learn the amount, are paid at Okotzk; but the tribute is collected at Bolcheretsk; and, I was informed by Major Behm, amounted in value to ten thousand roubles annually.

There were six vessels (of from forty to fifty tons burthen) employed by the empress between Okotzk and Bolcheretsk; five of which are appropriated to the transporting of stores and provisions from Okotzk to Bolcheretsk; except that once in two or three years, some of them go round to Awatska and the Kamtschatka river; the sixth is only used as a packet-boat, and always kept in readiness, and properly equipped for conveying dispatches. Besides these, there are about fourteen vessels employed by the merchants in the fur-trade, amongst the islands to the eastward. One of these we found frozen up in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which was to sail on a trading voyage

[6] Thirty-six pounds English.

voyage to Oonalashka, as soon as the season would permit.[7]

It is here to be observed, that the most considerable and valuable part of the fur-trade is carried on with the islands that lie between Kamtschatka and America. These were first discovered by Beering, in 1741, and being found to abound with sea-otters, the Russian merchants became exceedingly eager in searching for the other islands seen by that navigator, to the S.E. of Kamtschatka, called in Muller's map the islands of Seduction, St Abraham, &c. In these expeditions they fell in with three groups of islands; the first about fifteen degrees to the east of Kamtschatka, in 53° N. latitude; the second about twelve degrees to the eastward of the former; and the third, Oonalashka, and the islands in its neighbourhood. These trading adventurers advanced also as far east as Shumagin's Islands (so called by Beering), the largest of which is named Kodiak. But here, as well as on the continent at Alashka, they met with so warm a reception in their attempts to compel the payment of a tribute, that they never afterward ventured so far. However they conquered, and made tributary the three groups before mentioned.

 In

[7] This description, little as it may excite any high opinion of the prosperity of the place, is nevertheless nearly a contrast to that which Krusenstern has given. "The first prospect of St Peter and St Paul might raise in the mind of a person newly arrived, and ignorant of the history of this Russian establishment, the idea of its being a colony founded a few years before, but recently abandoned. Nothing is visible here that could at all persuade any one of its being inhabited by civilized people; not only Awatska Bay, but the three adjoining ones, are entirely forlorn and uninhabited; nor is the beautiful harbour of St Peter and St Paul enlivened by a single boat. Instead of this, the shores are strewed with stinking fish, among which a number of half-starved dogs are seen wallowing, and contending for possession. Two baidars belonging to the port, and hauled on shore at a low sandy point of land, would be an additional proof of the infancy of this colony; if, at the same time, you did not perceive the wreck of a three-masted ship, bearing evident marks of having been in its present condition for some years. This is the Slawa Rossi, the ship which Captain Billing commanded, but which, after the completion of his voyage, foundered in the harbour from want of care. The appearance immediately brings to mind the celebrated Behring, who, seventy years before, commenced his voyage of discovery from this port; but not only the two baidars, but the sinking of the ship itself, are too clear a proof that the nautical concerns of this colony are still in a state of infancy." Krusenstern's descriptions, we see, come after King's, somewhat in the manner of Holbein's Dance of Death, after whatever was promising or agreeable! —E.

In the Russian charts, the whole sea between Kamtschatka and America is covered with islands; for the adventurers in these expeditions frequently falling in with land, which they imagined did not agree with the situation of others laid down by preceding voyagers, immediately concluded it must be a new discovery, and reported it as such on their return; and, since the vessels employed in these expeditions were usually out three or four years, and oftentimes longer, these mistakes were not in the way of being soon rectified. It is, however, now pretty certain, that the islands already enumerated are all that have yet been discovered by the Russians in that sea, to the southward of 60° of latitude.

It is from these islands that the sea-otter skins, the most valuable article of the fur-trade, are for the most part drawn; and as they are brought completely under the Russian dominion, the merchants have settlements upon them, where their factors reside, for the purpose of bartering with the natives. It was with a view to the farther increase and extension of this trade, that the admiralty of Okotzk fitted out an expedition for the purpose of making discoveries to the N. and N.E. of the islands above-mentioned, and gave the command of it, as I have already observed, to Lieutenant Synd. This gentleman, having directed his course too far to the northward, failed in the object of his voyage; for as we never saw the sea-otter to the northward of Bristol Bay, it seems probable, that they shun those latitudes where the larger kind of amphibious sea-animals abound. This was the last expedition undertaken by the Russians for prosecuting discoveries to the eastward; but they will undoubtedly make a proper use of the advantages we have opened to them, by the discovery of Cook's River.[8]

Notwithstanding

[8] In Mr Coxe's work, we have accounts of three voyages subsequent to Synd's, viz. those of Shelekof, of Ismaelof and Betsharoff, and of Billings, all of which were performed betwixt 1778 and 1792. The second of these, according to Mr Coxe's opinion, is by far the most interesting of any yet made by the Russians. The last, which was of very long continuance, and occasioned an enormous expence to the government, did not fully answer the expectations entertained of it. The commander, an Englishman, is not spoken highly of by Krusenstern, who tells us, indeed, that, among the Russian naval officers, there were many who would have conducted the expedition much more creditably than he did. This may, no doubt, be very true. But how comes it, that they were not known in time to be employed?

Notwithstanding the general intercourse that for the last forty years hath taken place between the natives, the Russians, and Cossacks, the former are not more distinguished from the latter by their features and general figure, than by their habits and cast of mind. Of the persons of the natives, a description hath been already given, and I shall only add, that their stature is much below the common size. This Major Behm attributes, in a great measure, to their marrying so early; both sexes generally entering into the conjugal state at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Their industry is abundantly conspicuous, without being contrasted with the laziness of their Russian and Cossack inmates, who are fond of intermarrying with them, and, as it should seem, for no other reason, but that they may be supported in sloth and inactivity. To this want of bodily exertion may be attributed those dreadful scorbutic complaints, which none of them escape; whilst the natives, by constant exercise and toil in the open air, are entirely free from them.[9]

Referring

employed? Or, admitting that they were known for superiority of talents, but that some reasons, independent of any consideration of respective qualifications, decided against their being employed, who was to blame, it may be asked, in selecting an incompetent, or at least an inferior person, for the command of so important an undertaking? Captain Krusenstern may be a very able officer; indeed, no one can read his work without entertaining a high opinion of his moral and professional character. It is shrewdly to be suspected, however, that he is somewhat deficient in that prophetic eye of wise policy, which at one glance can ascertain the effects and consequences of one's own assertions and reasonings. It is not thought advisable to enter upon the consideration of the subject now adverted to by Captain King, as a fitter opportunity will in all probability present itself for the necessary discussion.—E.

[9] Captain Krusenstern, as may have been already perceived, thinks very highly of the Kamtschadale character. In his judgment, the only objection to it applies to that superinduced propensity in which the avaricious merchant has so often found his account, though to the ruin of the unthinking individuals subjected to his temptations. Their honesty is greatly extolled; and a cheat is as rare among the Kamtschadales as a man of property. So great is the confidence placed in them in this respect, that it is quite usual, we are told, for travellers, on arriving at an ostrog, to give their whole effects, even their stock of *brandy*, &c. into the hands of the tayon, and there is no instance of any one having been robbed to the smallest extent. "Lieutenant Koscheleff," says K., "with his accustomed simplicity, told me that he had once been sent by his brother, the governor, with thirteen thousand roubles to distribute among the different towns; that every evening he made over his box with the money

to

Referring the reader for an account of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the Kamtschadales, at the time

to the tayon of the ostrog where he slept, and felt much easier, having so disposed of it, *than he would perhaps have done in any inn in St Petersburgh.*" No doubt, the superior purity of the country air would occasion some difference in his feelings! The hospitality of the Kamtschadales forms another topic of eulogium. With such moral virtues, then, in alliance with great industry, and considerable intelligence, it is not to be wondered, that Krusenstern should speak of the probable extinction of this race as a most alarming calamity. But we have seen that hitherto little care has been manifested to prevent its occurrence. The very subject we are now on presents us with another sample of the gross impolicy, not to speak of inhumanity or injustice, that has been shewn towards these most valuable people. The following passage from Krusenstern may be allowed to warrant the most severe opinion we can possibly form of any government, that could require such services from *its slaves*. "The necessity of the Kamtschadales in Kamtschatka is sufficiently proved, by their being every where the guides through the country, and by their conveying the mail, which they do likewise, free of expence. In the winter, they are obliged to conduct travellers and estafettes from one ostrog to another; they supply the dogs of those who travel with jukulla; they also lodge the travellers; this, however, they are not obliged to do. This hospitable people has, of its own accord, engaged to lodge every traveller, and to feed his dogs, without demanding any remuneration. In every ostrog there is a supply of fish set apart for this purpose. In general, the governor and all officers keep dogs, so that in this respect they are not burthensome to the Kamtschadales; but a story is told of a magistrate high in office, having been here a short time since, who never travelled but in a sledge like a small house, drawn by an hundred dogs. Besides this, he is said to have journeyed with such rapidity, that at every station several of these animals belonging to the Kamtschadales expired, which he never paid for. In the summer, the Kamtschadale is obliged to be always ready with his boat to conduct the traveller either up or down the rivers; nor can the soldier be sent any where without having one of these people for his guide. Thus it frequently happens that they are absent a fortnight or more from their ostrog, and lose the best opportunity of providing themselves with fish for the winter, as, besides the mere act of taking the fish, it requires several days of fine summer weather to dry them. If the wet should set in, during this operation, the fish instantly becomes magotty, and the whole stock is rendered useless. From the great numbers of soldiers, (as, besides the cossacks, there is a battalion of five hundred men, and about twenty officers, quartered in Kamtschatka), and the small number of Kamtschadales, it must be sufficiently evident, that the latter are frequently taken from their work, and, it may be added, almost without remuneration; for the post-money allowed by the crown, which amounts to one kopeck the werst, considering the high price of every article, is, surely, not only an inconsiderable, but an insulting reward for the service performed." Thus far K. To some readers, it may be necessary to mention, in order to their due understanding of this reward, that 100 kopecks make a rouble, the value of which varies according to the rate of exchange

time the Russians became first acquainted with this country, to Krascheninnikoff, I shall proceed to a description of their habitations and dress.

The houses (if they may be allowed that name) are of three distinct sorts, *jourts, balagans,* and *loghouses,* called here *isbas.* The first are their winter, the second their summer habitations; the third are altogether of Russian introduction, and inhabited only by the better and wealthier sort.

The *jourts,* or winter-habitations, are constructed in the following manner: An oblong square, of dimensions proportioned to the number of persons for whom it is intended, (for it is proper to observe, that several families live together in the same *jourt,*) is dug in the earth to the depth of about six feet. Within this space strong posts, or wooden pillars, are fastened in the ground, at proper distances from each other, on which are extended the beams for the support of the roof, which is formed by joists, resting on the ground with one end, and on the beams with the other. The interstices between the joists are filled up with a strong wicker-work, and the whole covered with turf; so that a *jourt* has externally the appearance of a round squat hillock. A hole is left in the centre, which serves for chimney, window, and entrance, and the inhabitants pass in and out by means of a strong pole (instead of a ladder), notched just deep enough to afford a little holding to the toe. There is likewise another entrance in the side, even with the ground, for the convenience of the women; but if a man makes use of it, he subjects himself to the same disgrace and derision as a sailor would who descends through lubbers hole. The *jourt* consists of one apartment, of the form of an oblong square. Along the sides are extended broad platforms made of boards, and raised about six inches from the ground, which they use as seats, and on which they go to rest, after strewing them with mats and skins. On one side is the fire-place, and the side opposite is entirely set apart for the stowage of provisions and kitchen-utensils. At their feasts, and ceremonious entertainments, the hotter the *jourts* are made for the reception of the guests, the greater

change from 2s. 6d. to 4s. 2d. British, having been so low as the former rate in the year 1803, and that three wersts are about equal to two English miles, so that we may fairly enough estimate this insult, as K. expresses it, at one half-penny per mile !—E.

greater the compliment. We found them at all times so hot, as to make any length of stay in them to us intolerable. They betake themselves to the *jourts* the middle of October; and, for the most part, continue in them till the middle of May.

The *balagans* are raised upon nine posts, fixed into the earth in three rows, at equal distances from one another, and about thirteen feet high from the surface. At the height of between nine and ten feet, rafters are passed from post to post, and firmly secured by strong ropes. On these rafters are laid the joists, and the whole being covered with turf, constitutes the platform or floor of the *balagan.* On this is raised a roof of a conical figure, by means of tall poles, fastened down to the rafters at one end, and meeting together in a point at the top, and thatched over with strong coarse grass. The *balagans* have two doors placed opposite each other, and they ascend to them by the same sort of ladders they use in the *jourts.* The lower part is left entirely open; and within it they dry their fish, roots, vegetables, and other articles of winter consumption. The proportion of *jourts* and *balagans,* is as one to six; so that six families generally live together in one *jourt.*

The loghouses (*isbas*) are raised with long timbers piled horizontally, the ends being let into one another, and the seams caulked with moss. The roof is sloping like that of our common cottage-houses, and thatched with coarse grass or rushes. The inside consists of three apartments. At one end is what may be called the entry, which runs the whole width and height of the house, and is the receptacle of their sledges, harness, and other more bulky gears and household stuff. This communicates with the middle and best apartment, furnished with broad benches, for the purpose, as hath been above-mentioned, of both eating and sleeping upon. Out of this is a door into the kitchen; one half of which is taken up by the oven or fire-place, so contrived, by being let into the wall that separates the kitchen and the middle apartment, as to warm both at the same time. Over the middle apartment and kitchen are two lofts, to which they ascend by a ladder placed in the entry. There are two small windows in each apartment, made of talc, and in the houses of the poorer sort of fish-skin. The beams and boards of the cieling are dubbed smooth with a hatchet (for they are unacquainted with the plane), and

from the effects of the smoke are as black and shining as jet.

A town of Kamtschatka is called an *ostrog*, and consists of several of the three sorts of houses above described; but of which *balagans* are much the most numerous; and I must observe, that I never met with a house of any kind detached from an *ostrog*. Saint Peter and Saint Paul consists of seven loghouses, or *isbas*, nineteen *balagans*, and three *jourts*. Paratounca is of about the same size. Karatchin and Natcheekin contain fewer loghouses, but full as many *jourts* and *balagans* as the former; from whence I conclude, that such is the usual size of the *ostrogs*.[10]

Having

[10] Krusenstern's description of the houses and their contents is exactly in proportion to the other parts of his very unfavourable report. Even of two of them, which he says are the very ornament of Kamtschatka, the furniture is represented as most wretchedly deficient. "That of the anti-room consisted merely of a wooden stool, a table, and two or three broken chairs. There was neither earthen-ware nor porcelain table-service; no glasses, decanters, nor any thing else of a similar nature; two or three tea-cups, one glass, a few broken knives and forks, and some pewter spoons, constituted the wealth of the good people (two artillery officers) who were both married. But what most of all distressed me, was the condition of their windows; they had not double sashes, which, in a cold climate, are as necessary to health as to comfort; but such even as they had, were in a very wretched condition. The panes were of glass, but notwithstanding their extreme smallness, they were all of them broken, and made of pieces fitted together. They afforded no protection against the snow and frost; and I could not, without feelings of commiseration, behold the children, who, in no part of the world, are brought up so wretchedly as here." If such were the condition of the best houses, we shall have little reason, for the sake of any pleasure at least, to make any enquiry as to those of an inferior kind, belonging to the other inhabitants. It is perhaps enough then to say in general terms, that they are all ill built, that they are so low, as to be entirely covered up with snow during the winter, and that in consequence of this circumstance, they are throughout that period completely deprived of the fresh air, to which want, and to the badness of their provisions, it is unquestionably with perfect truth that K. ascribes the pallid hue of all the inhabitants, even, as he adds, of the youngest females. The construction of a house at St Peter and St Paul, we are further told, is very expensive, as there is no suitable timber in the neighbourhood of the town, and the people are consequently necessitated to bring it from the interior. It is in this manner that thirty or forty soldiers are employed, when any public building is to be erected. They are sent out under the command of an officer, and for several weeks, during which time, and at imminent risk, they fell the timber, and float it down the rivers. Thus says K., "the whole garrison of Kamtschatka had been occupied during two years in building some barracks for ten or twelve men, nor were they even then completed; and the church,

Having already had occasion to mention the dress of the Kamtschadale women, I shall here confine myself to a description of that of the men.

The outermost garment is of the shape of a carter's frock. Those worn in summer are of nankeen; in winter they are made of skins, most commonly of the deer or dog, tanned on one side, the hair being left on the other, which is worn innermost. Under this is a close jacket of nankeen, or other cotton stuffs; and beneath that a shirt of thin Persian silk, of a blue, red, or yellow colour. The remaining part of their dress consists of a pair of tight trowsers, or long breeches, of leather, reaching down to the calf of the leg; of a pair of dog or deer-skin boots, with the hair innermost; and of a fur-cap, with two flaps, which are generally tied up close to the head, but in bad weather are let to fall round the shoulders.

The fur-dress presented to me by a son of Major Behm (as already mentioned), is one of those worn by the Toions, on ceremonious occasions. The form exactly resembles that of the common exterior garment just described. It is made of small triangular pieces of fur, chequered brown and white, and joined so neatly as to appear to be one skin. A border of six inches breadth, wrought with threads of different coloured leather, and producing a rich effect, surrounds the bottom, to which is suspended a broad edging of the sea-otter skin. The sleeves are turned up with the same materials; and there is likewise an edging of it round the neck, and down the opening at the breast. The lining is of a smooth white skin. A cap, a pair of gloves, and boots, wrought with the utmost degree of neatness, and made of the same materials, constitute the remainder of this suit. The Russians in Kamtschatka wear the European dress;

church, on which they had been several years employed, was in the same predicament!" It is, no doubt, a very natural consequence of such slow procedure, that, before a building is quite finished, some part of it falls to pieces. Some persons have suggested the use of bricks in place of timber, and it seems pretty obvious, from K.'s account, that this is quite practicable It may well be doubted, however, if either the prejudices or the indolence of the people will yield to the innovation; and much more, indeed, may it be doubted, if the people in fact will ever require more houses than those which already exist. If they should, notwithstanding such weighty evidence as has been adduced to the contrary, the advice which K. has given on the subject, would deserve the serious consideration of the government.—E.

dress; and the uniform of the troops quartered here, is of a dark-green, faced with red.

As the people situated to the north and south of this country are yet imperfectly known, I shall conclude the account of Kamtschatka with such information concerning the Kurile Islands, and the Koreki and Tschutski, as I have been able to acquire.

The chain of islands, running in a S.W. direction from the southern promontory of Kamtschatka to Japan, extending from latitude 51° to 45°, are called the Kuriles. They obtained this name from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Lopatka, who being themselves called Kuriles, gave their own name to these islands, on first becoming acquainted with them. They are, according to Spanberg, twenty-two in number, without reckoning the very small ones. The northernmost, called Shoomska, is not more than three leagues from the Promontory Lopatka, and its inhabitants are a mixture of natives and Kamtschadales. The next to the south, called Paramousir, is much larger than Shoomska, and inhabited by the true natives; their ancestors, according to a tradition among them, having come from an island a little farther to the south, called Onecutan. These two islands were first visited by the Russians in 1713, and at the same time brought under their dominion. The others, in order, are at present made tributary, down to Ooshesheer inclusive, as I am informed by the worthy pastor of Paratounca, who is their missionary, and visits them once in three years, and speaks of the islanders in terms of the highest commendation, representing them as a friendly, hospitable, generous, humane race of people, and excelling their Kamtschadale neighbours, not less in the formation of their bodies, than in docility and quickness of understanding. Though Ooshesheer is the southernmost island that the Russians have yet brought under their dominion, yet I understand that they trade to Ooroop, which is the eighteenth; and, according to their accounts, the only one where there is a good harbour for ships of burthen. Beyond this, to the south, lies Nadeegsda, which was represented to us by the Russians as inhabited by a race of men remarkably hairy, and who, like those of Ooroop, live in a state of entire independence.[11]

In

[11] Spanberg places the island here spoken of in 43° 50′ N. latitude, and mentions his having watered upon it; and that this watering-party brought off

In the same direction, but inclining something more to the westward, lies a group of islands, which the Japanese call Jeso; a name which they also give to the whole chain of islands between Kamtschatka and Japan The southernmost, called Matmai, hath been long subject to the Japanese, and is fortified and garrisoned on the side toward the continent. The two islands to the north-east of Matmai, Kunachir, and Zellany, and likewise the three still farther to the north-east, called the Three Sisters, are perfectly independent.

A trade of barter is carried on between Matmai and the islands last mentioned; and between those again and the Kuriles to the northward; in which, for furs, dried fish, and oil, the latter get silk, cotton, iron, and Japanese articles of furniture.[12]

The inhabitants of as many of the islands as are brought under the Russian dominion, are at present converted to Christianity. And probably the time is not very distant, when a friendly and profitable intercourse will be brought about between Kamtschatka and the whole of this chain of islands; and which will draw after it a communication with Japan itself. This may eventually be greatly facilitated by a circumstance related to me by Major Behm, that several Russians, who had been taught the Japanese language, by two men belonging to a vessel of that nation, which had been

off eight of the natives; of whom he relates the following circumstances: That their bodies were covered all over with hair; that they wore a loose striped silk gown, reaching as low as their ankles; and that some of them had silver rings pendant from the ears; that, on spying a live cock on deck, they fell down on their knees before it; and likewise, before the presents that were brought out to them, closing and stretching forth their hands, and bowing their heads, at the same time, down to the ground; that, except the peculiarity of their hairiness, they resemble the other Kurile islanders in their features and figure, and spoke the same language. The journal of the ship Castricom also mentions this circumstance, of the inhabitants of the country discovered by them, and called Jeso, being hairy all over the body.

[12] This accounts for what Krascheninnikoff says, that he got from Paramousir a japanned table and vase, a scymeter, and a silver ring, which he sent to the cabinet of her imperial majesty, at Petersburgh. And if what Mr Steller mentions, on the authority of a Kurile, who was interpreter to Spanberg in his voyage to Japan, is to be credited, that nearly the same language is spoken at Kunashir and Paramousir, it cannot be questioned, that some intercourse has always subsisted between the inhabitants of this extensive chain of islands.

been shipwrecked[13] on the coast of Kamtschatka, had been sent among those islands.

The advantages that would accrue to the Russians by an immediate trade to Japan, have been already adverted to, and are too many, and too obvious, to need insisting upon.[14]

The

[13] The vessel here spoken of was from Satsma, a port in Japan, bound for another Japanese port, called Azaka, and laden with rice, cotton, and silks. She sailed with a favourable wind; but, before she reached her destination, was driven out to sea by a violent storm, which carried away her masts and rudder.

On the storm's abating, not one of the crew, which consisted of seventeen (having probably never made any other than coasting voyages), knew where they were, or what course to steer. After remaining in this situation six months, they were driven on shore near the promontory Lopatka; and having cast out an anchor, began to carry on shore such articles as were necessary to their existence. They next erected a tent, and had remained in it twenty-three days without seeing a human being; when chance conducted a cossack officer, called Andrew Chinnikoff, with a few Kamtschadales, to their habitation. The poor unfortunate Japanese, overwhelmed with joy at the sight of fellow creatures, made the most significant tenders, they were able, of friendship and affection; and presented their visitors with silks, sabres, and a part of whatever else they had brought from the ship. The treacherous Chinnikoff made reciprocal returns of kindness and good-will; and, after remaining with them long enough to make such observations as suited his designs, withdrew from them in the night. The Japanese, finding that their visitors did not return, knew not what course to take. In despair they manned their boat, and were rowing along the coast in search of a habitation, when they came up with their vessel, which had been driven ashore; and found Chinnikoff and his companions pillaging her, and pulling her in pieces for the sake of the iron. This sight determined them to continue their course, which Chinnikoff perceiving, ordered his men to pursue and massacre them. The unfortunate Japanese, seeing a canoe in pursuit, and which they could not escape, apprehended what was to follow. Some of them leaped into the sea; others, in vain, had recourse to prayers and entreaties. They were all massacred but two, by the very sabres they had presented to their supposed friends a few days before. One of the two was a boy about eleven years old, named Gowga, who had accompanied his father, the ship's pilot, to learn navigation; the other was a middle-aged man, the supercargo, and called Sosa.

Chinnikoff soon met with the punishment due to his crimes. The two strangers were conducted to Petersburgh, where they were sent to the academy, with proper instructors and attendants; and several young men were, at the same time, put about them for the purpose of learning the Japanese language.

They were thrown on the coast of Kamtschatka in 1730. The younger survived the absence from his country five, the other six years. Their portraits are to be seen in the cabinet of the empress at Petersburgh.—Vid. Krascheninnikoff, vol. ii. part 4. Fr. Ed.

[14] Attempts have been made at different periods by the Russians to open

The Koreki country includes two distinct nations, called the Wandering and Fixed Koriacs.

The former inhabit the northern part of the isthmus of Kamtschatka, and the whole coast of the eastern ocean; from thence to the Anadir.

The country of the Wandering Koriacks stretches along the north-east of the sea of Okotzk to the river Penskina, and westward toward the river Kovyma.

The Fixed Koriacks have a strong resemblance to the Kamtschadales; and, like them, depend altogether on fishing for subsistence. Their dress and habitations are of the same kind. They are tributary to the Russians, and under the district of the Ingiga.

The Wandering Koriacs occupy themselves entirely in breeding and pasturing deer, of which they are said to possess immense numbers; and that it is no unusual thing for an individual chief to have a herd of four or five thousand. They despise fish, and live entirely on deer. They have no balagans; and their only habitations are like the Kamtschadale jourts, with this difference, that they are covered with raw deer-skins in winter, and tanned ones in summer. Their sledges are drawn by deer, and never by dogs; which, like the latter, are likewise always spayed, in order to be trained to this business. The draft-deer pasture in company

open up a trade with Japan; and, indeed, one purpose of the voyage which Captain Krusenstern undertook, was to conciliate the emperor or government of that island. No one, who is at all acquainted with the history of the people, will be surprised to learn that the Japanese did not think themselves honoured by the embassy; that they even refused the presents which had been carried out, and would not concede the favour of an alliance which was courted. The result of the whole, in fact, was rather a loss than a gain, as a permission which had been previously given to visit Nangasaky was withdrawn. Thus, says K., " all communication is now at an end between Japan and Russia, unless some great change should take place in the ministry of Jeddo, or, indeed, in the government itself, and this is perhaps not to be expected." We are told, however, in a note, that some revolution is understood actually to have taken place after this visit, and that too in consequence of this dismissal of the Russian embassy. This is said on the authority of a Lieutenant Chwostoff, who heard of it from the Japanese, when he visited the northern coast of Jesso in 1806 and 1807. But as no particulars are mentioned, and as, indeed, the thing is somewhat unlikely, one may be allowed to call in question the truth of the report. The Russians then, like the Spaniards, Portugueze, English, and Americans, have utterly failed in establishing any commercial intercourse with Japan; and the Dutch alone, of any of the European nations, have continued, by virtue of their *bowing propensities*, &c., to profit by a direct connection with it.—E.

company with the others; and when they are wanted, the huntsmen make use of a certain cry, which they instantly obey, by coming out of the herd.

The priest of Paratounca informed me, that the two nations of the Koriacs, and the Tschutski, speak different dialects of the same language; and that it bears not the smallest resemblance to the Kamtschadale.

The country of the Tschutski is bounded on the south by the Anadir, and extends along the coast to the Tschutskoi Noss. Like the Wandering Koriacks, their attention is principally confined to their deer, of which their country affords great numbers, both tame and wild. They are a stout, well-made, bold, warlike race of people; redoubtable neighbours to both nations of the Koriacs, who often feel the effects of their depredatory incursions. The Russians have for many years been using their endeavours to bring them under their dominion; and, after losing a great many men in their different expeditions for this purpose, have not been able to effect it.

I shall here conclude this article, since all we can say of this people, on our own knowledge, hath been laid before the reader in the preceding volume.

SECTION

## SECTION VIII.

*Plan of our future Proceedings.—Course to the Southward, along the Coast of Kamtschatka.—Cape Lopatka.—Pass the Islands Shoomska and Paramousir.—Driven to the Eastward of the Kuriles.—Singular Situation with respect to the pretended Discoveries of former Navigators.—Fruitless Attempts to reach the Islands North of Japan.—Geographical Conclusions.—View of the Coast of Japan.—Run along the East Side.—Pass two Japanese Vessels.—Driven off the Coast by contrary Winds.—Extraordinary Effect of Currents.—Steer for the Bashees.—Pass large Quantities of Pumice Stone.—Discover Sulphur Island.—Pass the Pratas.—Isles of Lema, and Ladrone Island.—Chinese Pilot taken on board the Resolution.—Journals of the Officers and Men secured.*[1]

OUR instructions from the Board of Admiralty having left a discretionary power with the commanding-officer of the expedition, in case of failure in the search of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, to return to England,

[1] As we have already exceeded the proportion of notes in the preceding pages, it would be improper, even if the importance of the remaining matter were more considerable than it is, to hazard farther commentary. The reader will find, as, indeed, he will naturally expect, that the condition of the vessels; &c. did not admit of much more research that could benefit navigation or geography. This, therefore, renders it less necessary to occupy attention in the results. Some additions have been made to our knowledge of Jesso, the neighbouring seas and islands, since the date of this voyage, and in no small degree, especially by the expedition under Krusenstern, from whose remarks we have already enriched our work. The additional observations will properly fall to be considered hereafter. It may be necessary, however, to state at present, that the able navigator, just now named, had it in his power, from more favourable circumstances, to correct the positions of some of the islands seen by Captain Gore, and assigned to them in the following section, as Sulphur Island, North Island, &c. But the corrections, though important for nautical purposes, are not of so much consequence in a general point of view, as to justify any particular remarks on the text. It is enough, perhaps, to notice the circumstance here, and to take advantage of the improvements of Krusenstern or others on any map or chart it may be expedient to affix to a subsequent portion of this work. The result of K.'s labours, it may be remarked, will require a modification to no mean amount of all the maps and charts of the regions we are now contemplating.—E.

land, by whatever route he should think best for the farther improvement of geography, Captain Gore demanded of the principal officers their sentiments, in writing, respecting the manner in which these orders might most effectually be obeyed. The result of our opinions, which he had the satisfaction to find unanimous, and entirely coinciding with his own, was, that the condition of the ships, of the sails, and cordage, made it unsafe to attempt, at so advanced a season of the year, to navigate the sea between Japan and Asia; which would otherwise have afforded the largest field for discovery; that it was therefore adviseable to keep to the eastward of that island, and in our way thither to run along the Kuriles, and examine more particularly the islands that lie nearest the northern coast of Japan, which are represented as of a considerable size, and independent of the Russian and Japanese governments. Should we be so fortunate as to find in these any safe and commodious harbours, we conceived they might be of importance, either as places of shelter for any future navigators, who may be employed in exploring the seas, or as the means of opening a commercial intercourse among the neighbouring dominions of the two empires. Our next object was to survey the coast of the Japanese Islands, and afterward to make the coast of China, as far to the northward as we were able, and run along it to Macao.

This plan being adopted, I received orders from Captain Gore, in case of separation, to proceed immediately to Macao; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, having cleared the entrance of Awatska Bay, we steered to the S.E., with the wind N.W. and by W. At midnight we had a dead calm, which continued till noon of the 10th; the light-house at this time bearing N. ½ W., distant five leagues, and Cape Gavareea, S. by W. ½ W. Being luckily in soundings of sixty and seventy fathoms water, we employed our time very profitably in catching cod, which were exceedingly fine and plentiful; and at three in the afternoon, a breeze sprung up from the W., with which we stood along the coast to the southward. A head-land, bearing S. by W., now opened with Cape Gavareea, lying about seven leagues beyond it. Between them are two narrow, but deep inlets, which may probably unite behind what appears to be an high island. The coast of these inlets is steep and cliffy. The hills break abruptly, and

and form chasms and deep vallies, which are well wooded. Between Cape Gavareea (which lies in latitude 52° 21′, longitude 158° 38′) and Awatska Bay, there are appearances of several inlets, which at first sight may flatter the mariner with hopes of finding shelter and safe anchorage; but the Russian pilots assured us, that there are none capable of admitting vessels of the smallest size, as the low land fills up the spaces that appear vacant between the high projecting head-lands. Toward evening, it again became calm; but at midnight we had a light breeze from the N., which increased gradually to a strong gale; and at noon the next day we found ourselves in latitude 52° 4′, longitude 158° 31′, when Cape Gavareea bore N. by W. ¼ W.; the south extreme, S.W. ½ W. We were at this time distant from the nearest shore about three leagues, and saw the whole country inland covered with snow. A point of land to the southward, which we place in latitude 51° 54′, formed the north side of a deep bay, called Achachinskoi, in the distant bottom of which we supposed a large river to empty itself, from the land behind being so unusually low. South of Achachinskoi Bay, the land is not so rugged and barren as that part of the country which we had before passed.

During the night we had variable winds and rain; but at four in the morning of the 12th, it began to blow so strong from the N.E., as to oblige us to double reef the top-sails, and make it prudent to stand more off the shore. At six, the weather becoming more moderate and fair, we again made sail, and stood in for the land. At noon, our latitude was 51° 0′, longitude 157° 25′. The northernmost land in sight, being the point we have mentioned as first opening with Cape Gavareea, bore N.N.E. A head-land, with a flat top, which is in latitude 51° 27′, and makes the south point of an inlet, called Girowara, bore N. ¼ E., and the southernmost land in sight, W. ¾ N., distant six leagues. At this time we could just perceive low land stretching from the southern extreme; but the wind veering round to the N.W., we could not get a nearer view of it. At six in the afternoon we saw, from the mast-head, Cape Lopatka, the southernmost extremity of Kamtschatka. It is a very low flat cape, sloping gradually from the high level land that we saw at noon, and bore W. N., about five leagues distant;

tant; and the high land, N.W. by W. ¾ W. As this point of land forms so marked an object in the geography of the eastern coast of Asia, we were glad to be able, by an accurate observation, and several good angles, to determine its precise situation, which is in latitude 51° 0′, longitude 156° 45′. To the N.W. of it we saw a remarkably high mountain, the top of which loses itself in the clouds; and, at the same time, the first of the Kurile Islands, called Shoomska, appeared in sight, bearing W. ½ S. The passage between this island and Cape Lopatka, the Russians describe as being three miles broad, and very dangerous on account of the rapidity of the tides, and the sunk rocks that are off the cape. From Cape Gavareea to Lopatka, the coast trends S.E. South of Achachinskoi, the land is not so high and broken as between that bay and the mouth of Awatska, being only of a moderate elevation toward the sea, with hills gradually rising farther back in the country. The coast is steep and bold, and full of white chalky patches.

At noon, the weather falling again to a calm, afforded us an opportunity of catching some fine cod. We were, at this time, in forty fathoms water, and about five or six leagues from Cape Lopatka. Both in the fore and afternoon, we had observations, with different compasses, for the variation, and found it to be 5° 20′ E.

We stood on all night, under an easy sail, to the S.S.W., having the wind westerly. At midnight we sounded, and had sixty fathoms; and, at day-break of the 13th, we saw the second of the Kurile Islands, (called by the Russians Paramousir,) extending from N.W. by W. to W. ½ S. This land is very high, and almost entirely covered with snow. At noon, the extremes bore from N.N.W. ½ W. to W.N.W. ½ W.; and a high peaked mountain, from which some thought they saw smoke issuing, N.W. by W. ½ W., about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. At this time our latitude, by observation, was 49° 49′, and our longitude 157° 0′. In the course of the day we saw many gulls and albatrosses, and several whales.

Paramousir is the largest of the Kuriles under the dominion of Russia, and well deserves a more accurate survey, than we were at this time allowed to take. For, in the afternoon, the gale increasing from the W., we were never

able to approach it nearer than we had done at noon; and were, therefore, obliged to be contented with endeavouring to ascertain its situation at that distance. We place the S. end of the island in latitude 49° 58′, the N. end in latitude 50° 46′, and in longitude 10′ W. of Lopatka; and as this position is found not to differ materially from that given by the Russians, it is probably very near the truth. Whilst we were abreast of this island, we had a very heavy swell from the N.E., though the wind had, for some time, been from the westward, a circumstance which we have already remarked more than once during the course of our voyage. In the night we tried for soundings, but found no ground with fifty fathoms of line.

On the 14th and 15th, the wind blowing steadily and fresh from the westward, we were obliged to stand to the southward, and consequently hindered from seeing any more of the Kurile Islands. At noon of the 16th, the latitude, by observation, was 45° 27′, the longitude, deduced from a number of lunar observations taken during the three days past, 155° 30′. The variation 4° 30′ E. In this situation, we were almost surrounded by the supposed discoveries of former navigators, and uncertain to which we should turn ourselves. To the southward and the S.W. were placed, in the French charts, a group of five islands, called the Three Sisters, Zellany and Kunashir. We were about ten leagues, according to the same maps, to the westward of the land of De Gama, which we had passed to the eastward in April last, at a distance rather less than this, without seeing any appearance of it; from which circumstance we may now conclude, that, if such land exist at all, it must be an island of a very inconsiderable size.[2] On the other hand, if we give credit to the original position of this land, fixed by Texiera, it lay to the W. by S.; and as the Company's

[2] From Muller's account of the course steered by Captain Spanberg, in his route from Kamtschatka to Japan, it appears, that he must also undoubtedly have seen De Gama's Land, if it really has the extent given it in Mr D'Anville's maps. Walton, who commanded a vessel in the same expedition, seems also to have looked in vain for this land on his return from Japan; and three years afterward, on account of some doubts that had arisen respecting Spanberg's course, Beering went directly in search of it, as low as the latitude of 46°.—See *Voyages et Découvertes, &c.* p. 210, et seq.

Company's Land,[3] Staten Island,[4] and the famous land of Jeso,[5] were also supposed to lie nearly in the same direction,

[3] This land was seen by the Dutchmen who sailed in the Castricom and Breskes, and imagined by them to be part of the continent of America. There now remains scarce any doubt of its being the islands of Ooroop and Nadeegsda. See the journals of the Castricom and Breskes, published by Wetzer.

[4] This land was also discovered by the Castricom; and, from its situation, as described in the journal of that vessel, it appears to be the islands of the Three Sisters.

[5] The country of Jeso, which has so long been a stumbling-block to our modern geographers, was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by the Dutch vessels mentioned in the preceding notes. The name appears, from the earliest accounts, to have been well known, both to the Japanese and the Kamtschadales; and used by them, indiscriminately, for all the islands lying between Kamtschatka and Japan. It has since been applied to a large imaginary island, or continent, supposed to have been discovered by the Castricom and Breskes; and it may not, therefore, be improper to consider the grounds of this mistake, as far as can be collected from the journals of that expedition. The object of the voyage, in which those ships were engaged, was to explore the eastern shore of Tartary; but, being separated by a storm off the S.E. point of Japan, they sailed in different tracks along the E. side of the island; and, having passed its northern extremity, proceeded singly on their intended expedition.

The Castricom, commanded by De Vries, steering northward, fell in with land on the third day, in latitude 42°. He sailed along the S.E. coast about sixty leagues in a *constant fog;* and, having anchored in various places, held a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. Thus far the journal. Now, as the islands of Matimai, Kunashir, and Zellany appear, from Captain Spanberg's discoveries, to lie exactly in this situation, there can be no doubt of their being the same land; and the circumstance of the fog sufficiently accounts for the error of De Vries, imagining them to be one continent; without having recourse to the supposition of an earthquake, by which Mr Muller, from his desire to reconcile the opinion generally received, with the later Russian discoveries, conceives the several parts to have been separated. The journal then proceeds to give an account of the discovery of Staten Island and Company's Land, of which I have already given my opinion, and shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Having passed through the Straits of De Vries, says the journal, they entered a vast, wild, and tempestuous sea, in which they steered, through mists and darkness, to the 48° N. latitude; after which they were driven by contrary winds to the southward, and again fell in with land to the westward, in latitude 45°, which they unaccountably still imagined to be part of the continent of Jeso; whereas, whoever examines Jansen's map of their discoveries, (which appears to be exceedingly accurate, as far as his information went,) will, I believe, have no doubt, that they were, at this time, on the coast of Tartary. Having traced this land four degrees to the northward, they returned to the southward through the Straits they had passed before.

It is not necessary to trouble the reader with the journal of the Breskes, as

tion, together with the group first mentioned, according to the Russian charts, we thought this course deserved the preference, and accordingly hauled round to the westward, the wind having shifted in the afternoon to the northward. During this day we saw large flocks of gulls, several albatrosses, fulmars, and a number of fish, which our sailors called grampuses; but, as far as we could judge, from the appearance of those that passed close by the ships, we imagined them to be the *kasatka*, or sword-fish, described by Krascheninnikoff, to whom I refer the reader, for a curious account of the manner in which they attack the whales. In the evening, a visit from a small land-bird, about the size of a goldfinch, and resembling that bird in shape and plumage, made us keep a good look-out for land. However, at midnight, on trying for soundings, we found no ground with forty-five fathoms of line.

On the 17th, at noon, we were in latitude 45° 7′, by observation, longitude 154° 0′. The wind now again coming to the westward, obliged us to steer a more southerly course; and, at midnight, it blew from that quarter a fresh gale, accompanied with heavy rain. In the morning, we saw another land-bird, and many flocks of gulls and peterels bending their course to the S.W. The heavy N.E. swell, with which we had constantly laboured since our departure from Lopatka, now ceased, and changed suddenly to the S.E. In the forenoon of the 18th, we passed great quantities of rock-weed, from which, and the flights of birds above-mentioned, we conjectured we were at no great distance from the southernmost of the Kuriles; and, at the same time, the wind coming round to the S., enabled us to stand in for it. At two, we set studding-sails, and steered W.; but the wind increasing to a gale, soon obliged us to double reef the top-sails; and, at midnight, we judged it necessary to try for soundings. Accordingly we hove to; but, finding no bottom at seventy-five fathoms, we were encouraged to persevere, and again bore away W., with the wind at S.E. This course we kept till two in the morning, when the weather becoming thick, we hauled our wind, and steered

as it contains no new matter, and has been already republished, and very satisfactorily animadverted upon by Mr Muller.—*Voyages from Asia to America*, &c. English Translation, p. 78.

steered to the S.W. till five, when a violent storm reduced us to our courses.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather left us little prospect of making the land, we still kept this object anxiously in view; and, at day-light, ventured to steer W. by S., and continued to stand on in this direction till ten in the forenoon, when the wind, suddenly shifting to the S.W., brought with it clear weather. Of this we had scarcely taken advantage, by setting the top-sails, and letting out the reefs, when it began to blow so strong from this quarter, that we were forced to close-reef again; and, at noon, the wind shifting two points to the W., rendered it vain to keep any longer on this tack. We therefore put about, and steered to the southward. At this time, our latitude, by observation, was 44° 12′, and longitude 150° 40′; so that, after all our efforts, we had the mortification to find ourselves, according to the Russian charts, upon a meridian with Nadeegsda, which they make the southernmost of the Kurile Islands, and about twenty leagues to the southward.

But, though the violent and contrary winds we had met with during the last six days, prevented our getting in with these islands, yet the course we had been obliged to hold, is not without its geographical advantages. For the group of islands, consisting of the Three Sisters, Kunashir, and Zellany, (which, in D'Anville's maps, are placed in the track we had just crossed,) being, by this means, demonstratively removed from that situation, an additional proof is obtained of their lying to the westward, where Spanberg actually places them, between the longitude 142° and 147°. But as the space is occupied, in the French charts, by part of the supposed land of Jeso and Staten Island, Mr Muller's opinion becomes extremely probable, that they are all the same lands; and, as no reasons appear for doubting Spanberg's accuracy, we have ventured, in our general map, to reinstate the Three Sisters, Zellany, and Kunashir, in their proper situation, and have entirely omitted the rest. When the reader recollects the manner in which the Russians have multiplied the islands of the Northern Archipelago, from the want of accuracy in determining their real situation, and the desire men naturally feel of propagating new discoveries, he will not be surprised, that the same causes should produce the same effects. It is thus that the

Jesoian

Jesoian lands, which appear, both from the accounts of the Japanese, and the earliest Russian traditions, to be no other than the Southern Kurile islands, have been supposed distinct from the latter. The land of De Gama is next on record; and was originally placed nearly in the same situation with those just mentioned, but was removed, as has been already suggested, to make room for Staten Island, and the Company's Land; and as Jeso, and the southernmost of the Kuriles, had also possession of this space, that nothing might be lost, they were provided for, the former a little to the westward, and the latter to the eastward.

As the islands of Zellany and Kunashir, according to the Russian charts, were still to the southward, we were not without hopes of being able to make them, and therefore kept our head as much to the westward as the wind would permit. On the 20th, at noon, we were in latitude 43° 47′, and longitude 150° 30′; and steering W. by S., with a moderate breeze from S.E., and probably not more than twenty-four leagues to the eastward of Zellany, when our good fortune again deserted us. For, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the wind, veering round to the N.W., began to blow so strong, that we were brought under our foresail and mizen stay-sail. We had very heavy squalls and hard rain, during the next twenty-four hours; after which, the horizon clearing a little, and the weather growing moderate, we were enabled to set the top-sails; but the wind, still continuing to blow from the N.W., baffled all our endeavours to make the land, and obliged us, at last, to give up all further thoughts of discovery to the N. of Japan. We submitted to this disappointment with the greater reluctance, as the accounts that are given of the inhabitants of these islands, mentioned at the end of the last section, had excited in us the greater curiosity to visit them.

In the afternoon, the leach-rope of the Resolution's fore top-sail gave way, and split the sail. As this accident had often happened to us in Captain Cook's life-time, he had ordered the foot and leach ropes of the topsails to be taken out, and larger fixed in their stead; and as these also proved unequal to the strain that was on them, it is evident, that the proper proportion of strength between those ropes and the sail is exceedingly miscalculated in our service. This day a land-bird perched on the rigging, and was taken;

ken; it was larger than a sparrow, but, in other respects, very like one.

The gale now abated gradually; so that, in the morning of the 22d, we let out the reefs of the topsails, and made more sail. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 58′, and longitude 148° 17′, the variation 3° E. In the afternoon, another little wanderer from the land pitched on the ship, and was so worn out with fatigue, that it suffered itself to be taken immediately, and died a few hours afterward. It was not bigger than a wren, had a tuft of yellow feathers on its head, and the rest of its plumage like that of the linnet. The sparrow, being stronger, lived a long time. These birds plainly indicating, that we could not be at any great distance from the land, and the wind, after varying a little, fixing in the evening at N., our hopes of making the land again revived, and we hauled up to the W.N.W., in which direction, the southernmost islands seen by Spanberg, and said to be inhabited by hairy men, lay at the distance of about fifty leagues. But the wind not keeping pace with our wishes, blew in such light airs, that we made little way, till eight next morning, when we had a fresh breeze from the S.S.W., with which we continued to steer W.N.W. till the evening. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 35′, longitude 146° 45′; the latter deduced from several lunar observations taken during the night. The variation of the needle we found to be 17′ E. In the evening, we had strong squally gales attended with rain, and having passed, in the course of the day, several patches of green grass, and seen a shag, many small land-birds, and flocks of gulls, it was not thought prudent, with all these signs of the vicinity of land, to stand on during the whole night. We therefore tacked at midnight, and steered a few hours to the S.E., and, at four in the morning of the 24th, again directed our course to the W.N.W., and carried a press of sail till seven in the evening, when the wind shifted from S.S.W. to N., and blew a fresh gale. At this time we were in the latitude of 40° 57′, and the longitude of 145° 20′.

This second disappointment in our endeavours to get to the N.W., together with the boisterous weather we had met with, and the little likelihood, at this time of the year, of its becoming more favourable to our views, were Captain Gore's motives for now finally giving up all farther search for the islands to the N. of Japan, and for shaping a course

course W.S.W., for the N. part of that island. In the night, the wind shifted to the N.E., and blew a fresh gale, with hard rain, and hazy weather, which, by noon of the 25th, brought us to the latitude of 40° 18′, in the longitude 144° 0′. To-day, we saw flights of wild-ducks, a pigeon lighted on our rigging, and many birds, like linnets, flew about us with a degree of vigour that seemed to prove, they had not been long upon the wing. We also passed patches of long grass, and a piece either of sugar-cane or bamboo. These signs, that land was at no great distance, induced us to try for soundings; but we found no ground with ninety fathoms of line. Toward evening, the wind by degrees shifted round to the S., with which we still kept on to the W.S.W.; and at day-break of the 26th, we had the pleasure of descrying high land to the westward, which proved to be Japan. At eight, it extended from N.W. to S. by W., distant three or four leagues. A low flat cape bore N.W. ¾ W., and seemed to make the S. part of the entrance of a bay. Toward the S. extreme, a conical-shaped hill bore S. by W. ¾ W. To the northward of this hill there appeared to be a very deep inlet, the N. side of the entrance into which is formed by a low point of land, and, as well as we could judge by our glasses, has a small island near it to the southward.

We stood on till nine, when we were within two leagues of the land, bearing W. ¾ S., and had soundings of fifty-eight fathoms, with a bottom of very fine sand. We now tacked and stood off; but the wind dying away, at noon we had got no farther than three leagues from the coast, which extended from N.W. by N. ¾ W. to S. ½ E., and was, for the most part, bold and cliffy. The low cape to the northward bore N.W. by W., six leagues distant; and the N. point of the inlet S. ¾ W. The latitude, by observation, was 40° 5′, and longitude 142° 28′. The northernmost land in sight, we judged to be the northern extremity of Japan.[6] It

[6] The only authentic survey of the eastern coast of Japan, with which I am acquainted, is that published by Jansen in his Atlas, and compiled with great accuracy from the charts and journals of the Castricom and Breskes. I have therefore adopted, wherever the identity of the situations could be nearly ascertained, the names given in that map to the corresponding points and head-lands seen by us along the coast.

Jansen places the northern extremity of Japan in latitude 40° 15′. The point seen by us was in latitude 40° 27′.

It is lower than any other part; and, from the range of the high lands that were seen over it from the mast-head, the coast appeared evidently to incline round to the westward. The N. point of the inlet we supposed to be Cape Nambu, and the town to be situated in a break of the high land, toward which the inlet seemed to direct itself.[7] The country is of a moderate height, consists of a double range of mountains; it abounds with wood, and has a pleasing variety of hills and dales. We saw the smoke of several towns or villages, and many houses near the shore, in pleasant and cultivated situations.

During the calm, being willing to make the best use of our time, we put our fishing lines overboard, in sixty fathoms water, but without any success. As this was the only amusement our circumstances admitted, the disappointment was always very sensibly felt, and made us look back with regret to the cod-banks of the dreary regions we had left, which had supplied us with so many wholesome meals, and, by the diversion they afforded, had given a variety to the wearisome succession of gales and calms, and the tedious repetition of the same nautical observations. At two in the afternoon, the breeze freshened from the southward, and, by four, had brought us under close-reefed topsails, and obliged us to stand off to the S.E. In consequence of this course, and the haziness of the weather, the land soon disappeared. We kept on all night, and till eight the next morning, when the wind coming round to the N., and growing moderate, we made sail, and steered W.S.W., toward the land; but did not make it till three in the afternoon, when it extended from N.W. ½ W. to W. The northernmost extreme being a continuation of the high land, which was the southernmost we had seen the day before; the land to the W. we conceived to be the Hofe Tafel Berg (the High Table Hill) of Jansen. Between the two extremes, the coast was low and scarcely perceptible, except from the mast-head. We stood on toward the coast till eight, when we were about five leagues distant; and, having shortened sail for the night, steered to the southward, sounding every four hours, but never found ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

On the 28th, at six in the morning, we again saw land, twelve

[7] This town is called by Jansen, Nabo.

twelve leagues to the southward of that seen the preceding day, extending from W.S.W. to W. by N. We steered S.W. obliquely with the shore; and, at ten, saw more land open to the S.W. To the westward of this land, which is low and flat, are two islands as we judged, though some doubts were entertained, whether they might not be connected with the adjacent low ground. The hazy weather, joined to our distance, prevented us also from determining, whether there are any inlets or harbours between the projecting points, which seem here to promise good shelter. At noon, the N. extreme bore N.W. by N., and a high peaked hill, over a steep headland, W. by N., distant five leagues. Our latitude at this time, by observation, was 38° 16′, longitude 142° 9′. The mean of the variation, from observations taken both in the fore and afternoon, was 1° 20′ E.

At half-past three in the afternoon, we lost sight of the land; and, from its breaking off so suddenly, conjectured, that what we had seen this day is an island, or, perhaps, a cluster of islands, lying off the main land of Japan; but as the islands, called by Jansen the Schildpads, and by Mr D'Anville Matsima, though laid down nearly in the same situation, are not equal in extent to the land seen by us, we must leave this point undecided. Having kept a S.W. course during the remaining part of the day, we found ourselves, at midnight, in seventy fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark-brown sand. We therefore hauled up to the eastward, till morning, when we saw the land again, about eleven leagues to the southward of that which we had seen the day before; and at eight, we were within six or seven miles of the shore, having carried, in regular soundings, from sixty-five to twenty fathoms, over coarse sand and gravel. Unluckily there was a haze over the land, which hindered our distinguishing small objects on it. The coast is straight and unbroken, and runs nearly in a N. and S. direction. Toward the sea the ground is low, but rises gradually into hills of a moderate height, whose tops are tolerably even, and covered with wood.

At nine o'clock, the wind shifting to the southward, and the sky lowring, we tacked and stood off to the E., and soon after, we saw a vessel, close in with the land, standing along the shore to the northward, and another in the offing, coming down on us before the wind. Objects of any kind, belonging

belonging to a country so famous, and yet so little known, it will be easily conceived, must have excited a general curiosity, and accordingly every soul on board was upon deck in an instant, to gaze at them. As the vessel to windward approached us, she hauled farther off shore; upon which, fearing that we should alarm them by the appearance of a pursuit, we brought the ships to, and she passed ahead of us, at the distance of about half a mile. It would have been easy for us to have spoken with them; but perceiving, by their manœuvres, that they were much frightened, Captain Gore was not willing to augment their terrors; and, thinking that we should have many better opportunities of communication with this people, suffered them to go off without interruption. Our distance did not permit us to remark any particulars regarding the men on board, who seemed to be about six in number, especially as the haziness of the weather precluded the use of our glasses. According to the best conjectures we were able to form, the vessel was about forty tons burthen. She had but one mast, on which was hoisted a square sail, extended by a yard aloft, the braces of which worked forward. Half-way down the sail, came three pieces of black cloth, at equal distances from each other. The vessel was higher at each end than in the midship; and we imagined, from her appearance and form, that it was impossible for her to sail any otherwise than large.

At noon, the wind freshened, and brought with it a good deal of rain; by three, it had increased so much, that we were reduced to our courses; at the same time, the sea ran as high as any one on board ever remembered to have seen it. If the Japanese vessels are, as Kæmpfer describes them, open in the stern, it would not have been possible for those we saw to have survived the fury of this storm; but, as the appearance of the weather, all the preceding part of the day, foretold its coming, and one of the sloops had, notwithstanding, stood far out to sea, we may safely conclude, that they are perfectly capable of bearing a gale of wind. Spanberg indeed describes two kinds of Japanese vessels; one answering to the above description of Kæmpfer, the other, which he calls busses, and in which, he says, they make their voyages to the neighbouring islands, exactly corresponds with those we saw.[8]

At

[8] Vide Muller, Fr. ed. page 215.

At eight in the evening, the gale shifted to the W., without abating the least in violence, and by raising a sudden swell, in a contrary direction to that which prevailed before, occasioned the ships to strain and labour exceedingly. During the storm, several of the sails were split on board the Resolution. Indeed they had been so long bent, and were worn so thin, that this accident had of late happened to us almost daily, in both ships; especially when, being stiff and heavy with the rain, they became less able to bear the shocks of the violent and variable winds we at this time experienced. The gale at length growing moderate, and settling to the W., we kept upon a wind to the southward; and, at nine in the morning of the 30th, we saw the land, at the distance of about fifteen leagues, bearing from W. by N. to N.W. ¼ W. It appeared in detached parts; but whether they were small islands, or parts of Japan, our distance did not enable us to determine. At noon, it extended from N.W. to W., the nearest land being about thirteen leagues distant, beyond which the coast seemed to run in a westerly direction. The latitude, by observation, was 36° 41′, longitude 142° 6′. The point to the northward, which was supposed to be near the southernmost land seen the day before, we conjectured to be Cape de Kennis, and the break to the southward of this point, to to be the mouth of the river on which the town of Gissima is said to be situated. The next cape is probably that called in the Dutch charts Boomtje's Point; and the southernmost, off which we were abreast at noon, we suppose to be near Low Point,[9] and that we were at too great distance to see the low land, in which it probably terminates, to the eastward.

In the afternoon, the wind veering round to the N.E., we stood to the southward, at the distance of about eighteen leagues from the shore, trying for soundings as we went along, but finding none with one hundred and fifteen fathoms of line. At two the next morning, it shifted to W., attended with rain and lightning, and blowing in heavy squalls. During the course of the day, we had several small birds of a brown plumage, resembling linnets, flying about us, which had been forced off the land by the strong westerly gales; but toward the evening, the wind coming

[9] *Lage Hoeck*, or Low Point, is placed by Jansen in latitude 36° 40′.

coming to the N.W., we shaped our course, along with them, to W.S.W., in order to regain the coast. In the morning of the 1st of November, the wind again shifted to S.E., and bringing with it fair weather, we got forty-two sets of distances of the moon from the sun and stars, with four different quadrants, each set consisting of six observations; these agreeing pretty nearly with each other, fix our situation at noon the same day, with great accuracy, in longitude 141° 32′; the latitude, by observation, was 35° 17′, We found an error of latitude, in our reckonings of the preceding day, of eight miles, and in this day's of seventeen; from whence, and from our being much more to the eastward than we expected, we concluded, that there had been a strong current from the S.W.

At two in the afternoon, we again made the land to the westward, at the distance of about twelve leagues; the southernmost land in sight, which we supposed to be White Point,[10], bore W.S.W. ½ W.; a hummock to the northward, which had the appearance of being an island, bore N.N.W. ¾ W., within which we saw from the mast-head low land, which we took to be Sand-down Point.[11] We stood in toward the land, till half-past five, when we hauled our wind to the southward. At this time we saw a number of Japanese vessels, close in with the land, several seemingly engaged in fishing, and others standing along shore. We now discovered to the westward a remarkably high mountain, with a round top, rising far inland. There is no high ground near it, the coast being of a moderate elevation, and, as far as we could judge, from the haziness of the horizon, much broken by small inlets. But to the southward of the hummock island before mentioned, there appeared, at a great distance, within the country, a ridge of hills, stretching in a direction toward the mountain, and probably joining with it. As this is the most remarkable hill on the coast, we could have wished to have settled its situation exactly; but having only had this single view, were obliged to be contented with such accuracy as our circumstances would allow. Its latitude therefore we conceive to be 35° 20′, its longitude, estimated by its distance from the ships, at this time fifteen leagues, 140° 26′.

As

[10] *Witte Hoeck*, placed by Jansen in latitude 35° 24′.
[11] *Sanduynege Hoeck*, in latitude 35° 55′. Jansen.

As the Dutch charts make the coast of Japan extend about ten leagues to the S.W. of White Point, at eight we tacked, and stood off to the eastward, in order to weather the point. At midnight, we again tacked to the S.W., expecting to fall in with the coast to the southward, but were surprised, in the morning at eight, to see the hummock, at the distance only of three leagues, bearing W.N.W. We began, at first, to doubt the evidence of our senses, and afterward to suspect some deception from a similarity of land; but, at noon, we found ourselves, by observation, to be actually in latitude 35° 43′, at a time when our reckonings gave us 34° 48′. So that, during the eight hours in which we supposed we had made a course of nine leagues to the S.W., we had in reality been carried eight leagues from the position we left, in a direction diametrically opposite; which made, on the whole, in that short space of time, a difference in our reckoning of seventeen leagues. From this error, we calculated, that the current had set to the N.E. by N., at the rate of at least five miles an hour. Our longitude, at this time, was 141° 16′.

The weather having now the same threatening appearance as on the 29th of October, which was followed by so sudden and severe a gale, and the wind continuing at S.S.E., it was thought prudent to leave the shore, and stand off to the eastward, to prevent our being entangled with the land. Nor were we wrong in our prognostications; for it soon afterward began, and continued till next day, to blow a heavy gale, accompanied with hazy and rainy weather. In the morning of the 3d, we found ourselves, by our reckoning, upward of fifty leagues from the land; which circumstance, together with the very extraordinary effect of currents we had before experienced, the late season of the year, the unsettled state of the weather, and the little likelihood of any change for the better, made Captain Gore resolve to leave Japan altogether, and prosecute our voyage to China; hoping, that as the track he meant to pursue had never yet been explored, he should be able to make amends, by some new discovery, for the disappointments we had met with on this coast.

If the reader should be of opinion that we quitted this object too hastily, in addition to the facts already stated it ought to be remarked, that Kæmpfer describes the coast of

Japan

Japan as the most dangerous in the whole world;[12] that it would have been equally dangerous, in case of distress, to run into any of their harbours, where we know, from the best authorities, that the aversion of the inhabitants to any intercourse with strangers, has led them to commit the most atrocious barbarities; that our ships were in a leaky condition, that our sails were worn out, and unable to withstand a gale of wind, and that the rigging was so rotten as to require constant and perpetual repairs.

As the strong currents, which set along the eastern coast of Japan, may be of dangerous consequence to the navigator, who is not aware of their extraordinary rapidity, I shall take leave of this island, with a summary account of their force and direction, as observed by us from the 1st to the 8th of November. On the 1st, at which time we were about eighteen leagues to the eastward of White Point, the current set N.E. and by N., at the rate of three miles an hour; on the 2d, as we approached the shore, we found it continuing in the same direction, but increased its rapidity to five miles an hour; as we left the shore it again became more moderate, and inclined to the eastward; on the 3d, at the distance of sixty leagues, it set to the E.N.E., three miles an hour; on the 4th and 5th, it turned to the southward, and at one hundred and twenty leagues from the land, its direction was S.E., and its rate not more than a mile and a half an hour; on the 6th and 7th, it again shifted round to the N.E., its force gradually diminishing till the 8th, when we could no longer perceive any at all.

During the 4th and 5th, we continued our course to the S.E., having very unsettled weather, attended with much lightning and rain. On both days we passed great quantities of pumice-stone, several pieces of which we took up, and found to weigh from one ounce to three pounds. We conjectured that these stones had been thrown into the sea by eruptions of various dates, as many of them were covered with barnacles, and others quite bare. At the same time, we saw two wild ducks, and several small land-birds, and had many porpoises playing round us.

On the 6th, at day-light, we altered our course to the S.S.W.; but, at eight in the evening, we were taken back, and obliged to steer to the S.E. On the 7th, at noon, we saw

[12] See Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 92, 93, 94, and 102.

saw a small land-bird, our latitude, by observation, at this time, being 33° 52′, and longitude 148° 42′. On the 9th, we were in latitude 31° 46′, longitude 146° 20′, when we again saw a small land-bird, a tropic bird, porpoises, flying fishes, and had a great swell from the E.S.E. We continued our course to the S.W., having the winds from the northward, without any remarkable occurrence, till the 12th, when we had a most violent gale of wind from the same quarter, which reduced us to the fore-sail and mizen stay-sail; and, as the weather was so hazy, that we were not able to see a cable's length before us, and many shoals and small islands are laid down in our charts, in this part of the ocean, we brought-to, with our heads to the S.W. At noon, the latitude by account was 27° 36′, longitude 144° 25′. In the morning of the 13th, the wind shifting round to the N.W., brought with it fair weather; but though we were at this time nearly in the situation given to the island of St Juan, we saw no appearance of land. We now bore away to the S.W., and set the top-sails, the gale still continuing with great violence. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 26° 0′, longitude 143° 40′, and variation 3° 50′ E. In the afternoon, we saw flying fish and dolphins, also tropic birds and albatrosses. We still continued to pass much pumice-stone; indeed, the prodigious quantities of this substance which float in the sea, between Japan and the Bashee islands, seem to indicate, that some great volcanic convulsion must have happened in this part of the Pacific Ocean; and consequently give some degree of probability to the opinion of Mr Muller, which I have already had occasion to mention, respecting the separation of the continent of Jeso, and the disappearance of Company's Land and Staten Island.

At six in the afternoon, we altered our course to the W.S.W., Captain Gore judging it useless to steer any longer to the S.S.W., as we were near the meridian of the Ladrones, or Marianne Islands, and at no great distance from the track of the Manilla ships. In the morning of the 14th, the weather became fine, and the wind, which was moderate, gradually shifted to the N.E., and proved to be the trade-wind. At ten, Mr Trevenen, one of the young gentlemen who came along with me into the Discovery, saw land appearing like a peaked mountain, and bearing S.W. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 24° 37′, longitude

6

longitude 142° 2′. The land, which we now discovered to be an island, bore S.W. ½ W., distant eight or ten leagues; and at two in the afternoon, we saw another to the W.N.W. This second island, when seen at a distance, has the appearance of two; the south point consisting of a high conical hill, joined by a narrow neck to the northern land, which is of a moderate height. As this was evidently of greater extent than the island to the south, we altered our course toward it. At four, it bore N.W. by W.; but, not having day-light sufficient to examine the coast, we stood upon our tacks during the night.

On the 15th, at six in the morning, we bore away for the south point of the larger island, at which time we discovered another high island, bearing N ¾ W., the south island, being on the same rhomb line, and the south point of the island ahead, W. by N. At nine, we were abreast, and within a mile of the middle island, but Captain Gore, finding that a boat could not land without some danger from the great surf that broke on the shore, kept on his course to the westward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 24° 50′, longitude 140° 56′ E.

This island is about five miles long, in a N.N.E., and S.S.W. direction. The south point is a high barren hill, flattish at the top, and, when seen from the W.S.W., presents an evident volcanic crater. The earth, rock, or sand, for it was not easy to distinguish of which its surface was composed, exhibited various colours, and a considerable part we conjectured to be sulphur, both from its appearance to the eye, and the strong sulphurous smell which we perceived as we approached the point. Some of the officers on board the Resolution, which passed nearer the land, thought they saw steams rising from the top of the hill. From these circumstances, Captain Gore gave it the name of *Sulphur Island.* A low, narrow neck of land connects this hill with the south end of the island, which spreads out into a circumference of three or four leagues, and is of a moderate height. The part near the isthmus has some bushes on it, and has a green appearance, but those to the N.E. are very barren, and full of large detached rocks, many of which were exceedingly white. Very dangerous breakers extend two miles and a half to the east, and two miles to the west, off the middle part of the island, on which the sea broke with great violence.

 The

The north and south islands appeared to us as single mountains of a considerable height; the former peaked, and of a conical shape; the latter more square and flat at the top. Sulphur Island we place in latitude 24° 48′, longitude 141° 12′. The north island in latitude 25° 14′, longitude 141° 10′. The south island in latitude 24° 22′, and longitude 141° 26′. The variation observed was 3° 30′ E.

Captain Gore now directed his course to the W.S.W., for the Bashee Islands, hoping to procure, at them, such a supply of refreshments as would help to shorten his stay in Macao. These islands were visited by Dampier, who gives a very favourable account, both of the civility of the inhabitants, and of the plenty of hogs and vegetables, with which the country abounds; they were afterwards seen by Byron and Wallis, who passed them without landing.

In order to extend our view, in the day-time, the ships spread between two and three leagues from each other, and during the night, we went under an easy sail; so that it was scarcely possible to pass any land that lay in the neighbourhood of our course. In this manner we proceeded, without any occurrence worth remarking, with a fresh breeze from the N.E., till the 22d, when it increased to a strong gale, with violent squalls of wind and rain, which brought us under close-reefed top-sails.

At noon of the 23d, the latitude, by account, was 21° 5′, and longitude 123° 20′; at six in the evening, being now only twenty-one leagues from the Bashee Islands, according to the situation in Mr Dalrymple's map, and the weather squally attended with a thick haze, we hauled our wind to the N.N.W., and handed the fore top-sail.

During the whole of the 24th it rained incessantly, and the wind still blew a storm; a heavy sea rolled down on us from the north, and in the afternoon we had violent flashes of lightning from the same quarter. We continued upon a wind to the N.N.W. till nine o'clock, when we tacked, and stood to the S.S.E., till four in the morning of the 25th, and then wore. During the night there was an eclipse of the moon, but the rain prevented our making any observation; unfortunately, at the time of the greatest darkness, a seaman, in stowing the main-top-mast stay-sail, fell overboard, but laying hold of a rope, which providentially was hanging out of the fore-chains into the water, and the ship being quickly brought in the wind, he was got on board

board without any other hurt than a slight bruise on his shoulder. At eight, the weather clearing, we bore away, but the wind blew still so strong, that we carried no other sail than the fore-sail, and the main-top-sail close-reefed. About this time we saw a land-bird resembling a thrush, and a sugar-cane; at noon, the latitude, by observation, was 21° 35′, and longitude 121° 35′.

As our situation in longitude was now to the west of the Bashee, according to Mr Dalrymple's map, I perceived that Captain Gore was governed, in the course he was steering, by the opinions of Commodore Byron and Captain Wallis, with whom he sailed when they passed these islands. The former placing it near four degrees to the westward, or in longitude 118° 15′. In consequence of this opinion, at two, we stood to the southward, with a view of getting into the same parallel of latitude with the islands, before we ran down our longitude. At six, we were nearly in that situation, and consequently ought to have been in sight of land, according to Mr Wallis's account, who places the Bashees near three degrees more to the eastward than Mr Byron. The gale, at this time, had not in the least abated; and Captain Gore, still conceiving that the islands must undoubtedly lie to the westward, brought the ships to, with their heads to the N.W., under the fore-sail and balanced mizen.

At six in the morning of the 26th, the wind having considerably abated, we bore away west; set the top-sails, and let out the reefs. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 21° 12′, and longitude 120° 25′. We saw, this day, a flock of ducks, and many tropic-birds, also dolphins and porpoises, and still continued to pass several pumice-stones. We spent the night upon our tacks, and, at six in the morning of the 27th, again bore away west in search of the Bashees.

I now began to be a little apprehensive, lest, in searching for those islands, we should get so much to the southward as to be obliged to pass to leeward of the Pratas. In this case, it might have been exceedingly difficult for such bad-sailing ships as ours to fetch Macao, particularly should the wind continue to blow, as it now did, from the N.N.E. and N. As I had some doubts whether Mr Dalrymple's charts were on board the Resolution, I made sail and hailed her; and having acquainted Captain Gore with the position

tion of these shoals, and my apprehensions of being driven to the southward, he informed me that he should continue on his course for the day, as he was still in hopes of finding Admiral Byron's longitude right; and therefore ordered me to spread a few miles to the south.

At noon, the weather became hazy; the latitude, by reckoning, was 21° 2′, and longitude 118° 30′; and at six, having got to the westward of the Bashees, by Mr Byron's account, Captain Gore hauled his wind to the N.W., under an easy sail, the wind blowing very strong, and there being every appearance of a dirty boisterous night. At four in the morning of the 28th, we saw the Resolution, then half a mile ahead of us, wear, and immediately perceived breakers close under our lee. At day-light, we saw the island of Prata; and at half past six we wore again, and stood toward the shoal, and finding we could not weather it, bore away, and ran to leeward. As we passed the south side, within a mile of the reef, we observed two remarkable patches on the edge of the breakers, that looked like wrecks. At noon, the latitude, found by double altitudes, was 20° 39′, longitude 116° 45′. The island bore N. ¾ E., distant three or four leagues. On the south-west side of the reef, and near the south end of the island, we thought we saw, from the mast-head, openings in the reef, which promised safe anchorage.

The Prata shoal is of a considerable extent, being six leagues from north to south, and stretching three or four leagues to the eastward of the island; its limit to the westward we were not in a situation to determine. The north-east extremity we place in latitude 20° 58′, and longitude 117°; and the south-west in latitude 20° 45′, and longitude 116° 44′.

For the remaining part of the day we carried a press of sail, and kept the wind, which was N.E. by N., in order to secure our passage to Macao. It was fortunate, that toward evening the wind favoured us, by changing two points more to the east; for had the wind and weather continued the same as during the preceding week, I doubt whether we could have fetched that port, in which case, we must have borne away for Batavia; a place we all dreaded exceedingly, from the sad havoc the unhealthiness of the climate had made in the crews of the former ships that had been out on discovery, and had touched there.

In

In the forenoon of the 29th, we passed several Chinese fishing-boats, who eyed us with great indifference. They fish with a large dredge-net, shaped like a hollow cone, having a flat iron rim fixed to the lower part of its mouth. The net is made fast with cords to the head and stern of the boat, which being left to drive with the wind, draws the net after it with the iron part dragging along the bottom. We were sorry to find the sea covered with the wrecks of boats that had been lost, as we conjectured, in the late boisterous weather. At noon, we were in latitude, by observation, 22° 1′, having run one hundred and ten miles upon a north-west course since the preceding noon. Being now nearly in the latitude of the Lema Islands, we bore away W. by N., and after running twenty-two miles, saw one of them nine or ten leagues to the westward. At six, the extremes of the islands in sight bore N.N.W. ½ W., and W.N.W. ½ W.; distant from the nearest four or five leagues; the depth of water twenty-two fathoms, over a soft muddy bottom. We now shortened sail, and kept upon our tacks for the night. By Mr Bayly's time-keeper, the Grand Lema bore from the Prata Island, N. 60° W., one hundred and fifty-three miles; and by our run, N. 57° W., one hundred and forty-six miles.

In the morning of the 30th, we ran along the Lema Isles, which, like all the other islands on this coast, are without wood, and, as far as we could observe, without cultivation. At seven o'clock, we had precisely the same view of these islands, as is represented in a plate of Lord Anson's voyage. At nine o'clock, a Chinese boat, which had been before with the Resolution, came alongside, and wanted to put on board us a pilot, which, however, we declined, as it was our business to follow our consort. We soon after passed the rock marked R in Lord Anson's plate; but, instead of hauling up to the northward of the Grand Ladrone Island, as was done in the Centurion, we proceeded to leeward.

It is hardly necessary to caution the mariner not to take this course, as the danger is sufficiently obvious; for should the wind blow strong, and the current set with it, it will be extremely difficult to fetch Macao. Indeed, we might, with great safety, by the direction of Mr Dalrymple's map, have gone either entirely to the north of the Lema Isles, or between them, and made the wind fair for Macao. Our fears

fears of missing this port, and being forced to Batavia, added to the strong and eager desires of hearing news from Europe, made us rejoice to see the Resolution soon after fire a gun, and hoist her colours as a signal for a pilot. On repeating the signal, we saw an excellent race between four Chinese boats; and Captain Gore, having engaged with the man who arrived first, to carry the ship to the Typa, for thirty dollars, sent me word, that, as we could easily follow, that expence might be saved to us. Soon after, a second pilot getting on board the Resolution, insisted on conducting the ship, and, without farther ceremony, laid hold of the wheel, and began to order the sails to be trimmed. This occasioned a violent dispute, which at last was compromised, by their agreeing to go shares in the money. At noon, the altitude, by observation, was 21° 57′ N., and longitude 114° 2′ E.; the Grand Ladrone Island extending from N.W. ½ N., to N. ¾ W., distant four miles. The land of which the bearings are here given, we conceived to be one island; but afterward found the western part to be the island marked Z in Mr Dalrymple's chart of part of the coast of China, &c. which, at that time, we unfortunately had not on board.

In obedience to the instructions given to Captain Cook by the Board of Admiralty, it now became necessary to demand of the officers and men their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession, relating to the history of our voyage. The execution of these orders seemed to require some delicacy, as well as firmness. I could not be ignorant, that the greatest part of our officers, and several of the seamen, had amused themselves with writing accounts of our proceedings for their own private satisfaction, or that of their friends, which they might be unwilling, in their present form, to have submitted to the inspection of strangers. On the other hand, I could not, consistently with the instructions we had received, leave in their custody papers, which, either from carelessness or design, might fall into the hands of printers, and give rise to spurious and imperfect accounts of the voyage, to the discredit of our labours, and perhaps to the prejudice of officers, who, though innocent, might be suspected of having been the authors of such publications. As soon, therefore, as I had assembled the ship's company on deck, I acquainted them with the orders we had received, and the

the reasons which, I thought, ought to induce them to yield a ready obedience. At the same time, I told them, that any papers which they were desirous not to have sent to the Admiralty, should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the Board, with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled; after which, they should faithfully be restored back to them.

It is with the greatest satisfaction I can relate, that my proposals met with the approbation, and the cheerful compliance both of the officers and men; and I am persuaded, that every scrap of paper, containing any transactions relating to the voyage, were given up. Indeed, it is doing bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare, that they were the most obedient and the best-disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war.

## SECTION IX.

*Working up to Macao.—A Chinese Comprador.—Sent on Shore to visit the Portugueze Governor.—Effects of the Intelligence we received from Europe.—Anchor in the Typa.—Passage up to Canton.—Bocca Tygris.—Wampu.—Description of a Sampane.—Reception at the English Factory.—Instance of the suspicious Character of the Chinese.—Of their Mode of trading.—Of the City of Canton.—Its Size.—Population.—Number of Sampanes.—Military Force.—Of the Streets and Houses.—Visit to a Chinese.—Return to Macao.—Great Demand for the Sea-Otter Skins.—Plan of a Voyage for opening a Fur-Trade on the Western Coast of America, and prosecuting further Discoveries in the Neighbourhood of Japan.—Departure from Macao.—Price of Provisions in China.*

WE kept working to windward till six in the evening, when we came to anchor, by the direction of the Chinese pilot on board the Resolution, who imagined the tide was setting against us. In this, however, he was much deceived; as we found, upon making the experiment, that it set to the northward till ten o'clock. The next morning he fell into a similar mistake; for, at five, on the appear-

ance

ance of slack water, he gave orders to get under weigh; but the ignorance he had discovered, having put us on our guard, we chose to be convinced, by our own observations, before we weighed; and, on trying the tide, we found a strong under-tow, which obliged us to keep fast till eleven o'clock. From these circumstances, it appears that the tide had run down twelve hours.

During the afternoon, we kept standing on our tacks, between the island of Potoe, and the Grand Ladrone, having passed to the eastward of the former. At nine o'clock, the tide beginning to ebb, we again came to anchor in six fathoms water; the town of Macao bearing N.W., three leagues distant; and the island of Potoe, S. ½ W., two leagues distant. This island lies two leagues to the N.N.W. of the island marked Z in Mr Dalrymple's chart, which we, at first, took to be part of the Grand Ladrone. It is small and rocky; and, off the west end, there is said to be foul ground, though we passed near it without perceiving any.

In the forenoon of the 2d, one of the Chinese contractors, who are called *compradors*, went on board the Resolution, and sold to Captain Gore two hundred pounds weight of beef, together with a considerable quantity of greens, oranges, and eggs. A proportionable share of these articles was sent to the Discovery; and an agreement made with the man to furnish us with a daily supply, for which, however, he insisted on being paid before-hand.

Our pilot, pretending he could carry the ships no farther, Captain Gore was obliged to discharge him, and we were left to our own guidance.

At two in the afternoon, the tide flowing, we weighed, and worked to windward; and, at seven, anchored in three and a half fathoms of water, Macao bearing W., three miles distant. This situation was, indeed, very ineligible, being exposed to the N.E., and having shoal water, not more than two fathoms and a half deep, to leeward; but as no nautical description is given, in Lord Anson's voyage, of the harbour in which the Centurion anchored, and Mr Dalrymple's general map, which was the only one on board, was on too small a scale to serve for our direction, the ships were obliged to remain there all night.

In the evening, Captain Gore sent me on shore to visit the Portugueze governor, and to request his assistance in procuring refreshments for our crews, which he thought might

might be done on more reasonable terms than the *comprador* would undertake to furnish them. At the same time, I took a list of the naval stores, of which both vessels were greatly in want, with an intention of proceeding immediately to Canton, and applying to the servants of the East India Company, who were, at that time, resident there. On my arrival at the citadel, the fort-major informed me, that the governor was sick, and not able to see company; but that we might be assured of receiving every assistance in their power. This, however, I understood would be very inconsiderable, as they were entirely dependent on the Chinese, even for their daily subsistence. Indeed, the answer returned to the first request I made, gave me a sufficient proof of the fallen state of the Portugueze power; for, on my acquainting the major with my desire of proceeding immediately to Canton, he told me, that they could not venture to furnish me with a boat, till leave was obtained from the *Hoppo*, or officer of the customs; and that the application for this purpose must be made to the Chinese government at Canton.

The mortification I felt at meeting with this unexpected delay, could only be equalled by the extreme impatience with which we had so long waited for an opportunity of receiving intelligence from Europe. It often happens, that in the eager pursuit of an object, we overlook the easiest and most obvious means of attaining it. This was actually my case at present; for I was returning under great dejection to the ship, when the Portugueze officer, who attended me, asked me, if I did not mean to visit the English gentlemen at Macao. I need not add with what transport I received the information this question conveyed to me; nor the anxious hopes and fears, the conflict between curiosity and apprehension, which passed in my mind, as we walked toward the house of one of our countrymen.

In this state of agitation, it was not surprising, that our reception, though no way deficient in civility or kindness, should appear cold and formal. In our enquiries, as far as they related to objects of private concern, we met, as was indeed, to be expected, with little or no satisfaction; but the events of a public nature, which had happened since our departure, and now, for the first time, burst all at once upon us, overwhelmed every other feeling, and left us, for some

some time, almost without the power of reflection. For several days we continued questioning each other about the truth of what we had heard, as if desirous of seeking, in doubt and suspense, for that relief and consolation, which the reality of our calamities appeared totally to exclude. These sensations were succeeded by the most poignant regret at finding ourselves cut off, at such a distance, from the scene where, we imagined, the fate of fleets and armies was every moment deciding.[1]

The intelligence we had just received of the state of affairs in Europe, made us the more exceedingly anxious to hasten our departure as much as possible; and I, therefore, renewed my attempt to procure a passage to Canton, but without effect. The difficulty arising from the established policy of the country, I was now told, would probably be much increased by an incident that had happened a few weeks before our arrival. Captain Panton, in the Seahorse, a ship of war of twenty-four guns, had been sent from Madras, to urge the payment of a debt owing by the Chinese merchants of Canton to private British subjects in the East Indies and Europe, which, including the principal and compound interest, amounted, I understood, to near a million sterling. For this purpose, he had orders to insist on an audience with the Viceroy of Canton, which, after some delay, and not without recourse being had to threats, was, at length, obtained.

The answer he received, on the subject of his mission, was fair and satisfactory; but, immediately after his departure, an edict was stuck up on the houses of the Europeans, and in the public places of the city, forbidding all foreigners, on any pretence, to lend money to the subjects of the emperor.

This measure had occasioned very serious alarms at Canton. The Chinese merchants, who had incurred the debt contrary

[1] It is scarcely necessary to inform any reader that Captain King here alludes to the American war, in which first the French and then the Spaniards took part against Great Britain. The passage is certainly a very striking evidence of that enthusiasm which animates our gallant seamen, in all corners of the globe, to feel and to fight for Old England; and perhaps to this spirit, as well as to his eminent professional abilities in other respects, we may ascribe Captain King's appointm nt, not long after his return home, to the command of the Resistance man of war, sent on service to the West Indies.—E.

contrary to the commercial laws of their own country, and denied, in part, the justice of the demand, were afraid that intelligence of this would be carried to Pekin; and that the emperor, who had the character of a just and rigid prince, might punish them with the loss of their fortunes, if not of their lives. On the other hand, the select committee, to whom the cause of the claimants was strongly recommended by the presidency of Madras, were extremely apprehensive, lest they should embroil themselves with the Chinese government at Canton; and, by that means, bring, perhaps, irreparable mischief on the Company's affairs in China. For I was further informed, that the *Mandarins* were always ready to take occasion, even on the slightest grounds, to put a stop to their trading; and that it was often with great difficulty, and never without certain expence, that they could get such restraints taken off. These impositions were daily increasing; and, indeed, I found it a prevailing opinion, in all the European factories, that they should soon be reduced either to quit the commerce of that country, or to bear the same indignities to which the Dutch are subjected in Japan.

The arrival of the Resolution and Discovery, at such a time, could not fail of occasioning fresh alarms; and, therefore, finding there was no probability of my proceeding to Canton, I dispatched a letter to the English supercargoes, to acquaint them with the cause of our putting into the Typa, to request their assistance in procuring me a passport, and in forwarding the stores we wanted, of which I sent them a list, as expeditiously as possible.

The next morning I was accompanied on board by our countryman, who pointing out to us the situation of the Typa, we weighed at half past six, and stood toward it; but the wind failing, we came to, at eight, in three and a half fathoms water; Macao bearing W.N.W., three miles distant; the Grand Ladrone S.E. by S. The Resolution here saluted the Portugueze fort with eleven guns, which were returned by the same number. Early on the 4th, we again weighed, and stood into the Typa, and moored with the stream-anchor and cable to the westward.

The *Comprador*, whom we at first engaged with, having disappeared with a small sum of money, which had been given him to purchase provisions, we contracted with another, who continued to supply both ships, during our whole

whole stay. This was done secretly, and in the night-time, under pretence, that it was contrary to the regulations of the port; but we suspected all this caution to have been used with a view either of enhancing the price of the articles he furnished, or of securing to himself the profits of his employment, without being obliged to share them with the *Mandarins*.

On the 9th, Captain Gore received an answer from the committee of the English supercargoes at Canton, in which they assured him, that their best endeavours should be used to procure the supplies we stood in need of, as expeditiously as possible; and that a passport should be sent for one of his officers, hoping at the same time, that we were sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Chinese government, to attribute any delays, that might unavoidably happen, to their true cause.

The day following, an English merchant, from one of our settlements in the East Indies, applied to Captain Gore for the assistance of a few hands to navigate a vessel he had purchased at Macao, up to Canton. Captain Gore judging this a good opportunity for me to proceed to that place, gave orders that I should take along with me my second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and ten seamen. Though this was not precisely the mode in which I could have wished to visit Canton, yet as it was very uncertain when the passport might arrive, and my presence might contribute materially to the expediting of our supplies, I did not hesitate to put myself on board, having left orders with Mr Williamson, to get the Discovery ready for sea as soon as possible, and to make such additions and alterations in her upper works, as might contribute to make her more defensible. That the series of our astronomical observations might suffer no interruption by my absence, I entrusted the care of continuing them to Mr Trevenen, in whose abilities and diligence I could repose an entire confidence.

We left the harbour of Macao on the 11th of December, and sailing round the south-eastern extremity of the island, we steered to the northward, leaving, as we passed along, Lantao, Lintin, and several smaller islands, to the right. All these islands, as well as that of Macao, which lie to the left, are entirely without wood; the land is high and barren, and uninhabited, except occasionally by fishermen. As we approached the Bocca Tygris, which is thirteen leagues

leagues from Macao, the Chinese coast appears to the eastward in steep white cliffs; the two forts, commanding the mouth of the river, are exactly in the same state as when Lord Anson was there; that on the left is a fine old castle, surrounded by a grove of trees, and has an agreeable romantic appearance.

We were here visited by an officer of the customs; on which occasion the owner of the vessel, being apprehensive that, if we were discovered on board, it would occasion some alarm, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences, begged us to retire into the cabin below.

The breadth of the river above these forts is variable, the banks being low and flat, and subject to be overflowed by the tide to a great extent. The ground on each side is level, and laid out in rice-fields; but as we advanced, it rose gradually into hills of considerable declivity, the sides of which are cut into terraces, and planted with sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, yams, plantains, and the cotton-tree. We saw many lofty *pagodas*, scattered over the country, and several towns at a distance, some of which appeared to be of a considerable size.

We did not arrive at Wampû, which is only nine leagues from the Bocca Tygris, till the 18th, our progress having been retarded by contrary winds, and the lightness of the vessel. Wampû is a small Chinese town, off which the ships of the different nations, who trade here, lie, in order to take in their lading. The river, higher up, is said by M. Sonnerat not to be deep enough to admit heavy-laden vessels, even if the policy of the Chinese had suffered the Europeans to navigate them up to Canton; but this circumstance I cannot take upon me to decide on, as no stranger, I believe, has been permitted to inform himself with certainty of the truth. The small islands, that lie opposite to the town are allotted to the several factories, who have built warehouses for the reception of the merchandise that is brought down from Canton.

From Wampû, I immediately proceeded in a *sampane*, or Chinese boat, to Canton, which is about two leagues and a half higher up the river. These boats are the neatest and most convenient for passengers I ever saw. They are of various sizes, almost flat at the bottom, very broad upon the beam, and narrow at the head and stern, which are raised and ornamented; the middle, where we sat, was arched

arched over with a roof of bamboo, which may be raised or lowered at pleasure; in the sides were small windows with shutters, and the apartment was furnished with handsome mats, chairs, and tables. In the stern was placed a small waxen idol, in a case of gilt leather, before which stood a pot, containing lighted tapers made of dry chips, or matches, and gum. The hire of this boat was a Spanish dollar.

I reached Canton a little after it was dark, and landed at the English factory, where, though my arrival was very unexpected, I was received with every mark of attention and civility. The select committee, at this time, consisted of Mr Fitzhugh, the president, Mr Bevan and Mr Rapier. They immediately gave me an account of such stores as the India ships were able to afford us; and though I have not the smallest doubt, that the commanders were desirous of assisting us with every thing they could spare, consistently with a regard to their own safety, and the interest of their employers, yet it was a great disappointment to me to find in their list scarcely any articles of cordage or canvass, of both which we stood principally in need. It was, however, some consolation to understand, that the stores were in readiness for shipping, and that the provisions we required might be had at a day's notice. Wishing, therefore, to make my stay here as short as possible, I requested the gentlemen to procure junks or boats for me the next day, with an intention of leaving Canton the following one; but I was soon informed, that a business of that kind was not to be transacted so rapidly in this country; that leave must be first procured from the viceroy; that the *Hoppo,* or principal officer of the customs, must be applied to for *chops,* or permits; and that these favours were not granted without mature deliberation: in short, that patience was an indispensable virtue in China; and that they hoped to have the pleasure of making the factory agreeable to me, for a few days longer than I seemed willing to favour them with my company.

Though I was not much disposed to relish this compliment, yet I could not help being diverted with an incident that occurred very opportunely to convince me of the truth of their representations, and of the suspicious character of the Chinese. The reader will recollect, that it was now about fifteen days since Captain Gore had written to the factory, to desire their assistance in procuring leave for one of

of his officers to pass to Canton. In consequence of this application, they had engaged one of the principal Chinese merchants of the place, to interest himself in our favour, and to solicit the business with the viceroy. This person came to visit the president, whilst we were talking on the subject, and with great satisfaction and complacency in his countenance acquainted him, that he had at last succeeded in his applications, and that a passport for one of the officers of the *Ladrone* ship (or pirate) would be ready in a few days. The president immediately told him not to give himself any farther trouble, as the officer, pointing to me, was already arrived. It is impossible to describe the terror which seized the old man on hearing this intelligence. His head sunk upon his breast, and the sofa on which he was sitting shook, from the violence of his agitation. Whether the *Ladrone* ship was the object of his apprehensions, or his own government, I could not discover; but after continuing in this deplorable state a few minutes, Mr Bevan bade him not despair, and recounted to him the manner in which I had passed from Macao, the reasons of my journey to Canton, and my wishes to leave it as soon as possible. This last circumstance seemed particularly agreeable to him, and gave me hopes, that I should find him equally disposed to hasten my departure; and yet, as soon as he had recovered the courage to speak, he began to recount the unavoidable delays that would occur in my business, the difficulty of gaining admittance to the viceroy, the jealousies and suspicions of the *Mandarins*, respecting our real designs, which had risen, he said, to an extraordinary height, from the strange account we had given of ourselves.

After waiting several days, with great impatience, for the event of our application, without understanding that the matter was at all advanced toward a conclusion, I applied to the commander of an English country ship, who was to sail on the 25th, and who offered to take the men and stores on board, and to lie-to, if the weather should permit, off Macao, till we could send boats to take them out of his ship. At the same time he apprised me of the danger there might be of his being driven with them out to sea. Whilst I was doubting what measures to pursue, the commander of another country ship brought me a letter from Captain Gore, in which he acquainted me, that he

had

had engaged him to bring us down from Canton, and to deliver the stores we had procured, at his own risk, in the Typa. All our difficulties being thus removed, I had leisure to attend to the purchase of our provisions and stores, which was completed on the 26th; and the day following, the whole stock was sent on board.

As Canton was likely to be the most advantageous market for furs, I was desired by Captain Gore to carry with me about twenty sea-otters' skins, chiefly the property of our deceased commanders, and to dispose of them at the best price I could procure; a commission which gave me an opportunity of becoming a little acquainted with the genius of the Chinese for trade. Having acquainted some of the English supercargoes with these circumstances, I desired them to recommend me to some Chinese merchant of credit and reputation, who would at once offer me a fair and reasonable price. I was accordingly directed to a member of the *Hong*; a society of the principal merchants of the place; who being fully informed of the nature of the business, appeared sensible of the delicacy of my situation; assured me I might depend on his integrity; and that, in a case of this sort, he should consider himself merely as an agent, without looking for any profit to himself. Having laid my goods before him, he examined them with great care, over and over again, and at last told me, that he could not venture to offer more than three hundred dollars for them. As I knew, from the price our skins had sold for in Kamtschatka, that he had not offered me one-half their value, I found myself under the necessity of driving a bargain. In my turn, I therefore demanded one thousand; my Chinese then advanced to five hundred; then offered me a private present of tea and porcelain, amounting to one hundred more; then the same sum in money; and, lastly, rose to seven hundred dollars, on which I fell to nine hundred. Here, each side declaring he would not recede, we parted; but the Chinese soon returned with a list of India goods, which he now proposed I should take in exchange, and which, I was afterwards told, would have amounted in value, if honestly delivered, to double the sum he had before offered. Finding I did not choose to deal in this mode, he proposed as his *ultimatum*, that we should divide the difference, which, being tired of the contest, I consented to, and received the eight hundred dollars.

The

The ill health, which at this time I laboured under, left me little reason to lament the very narrow limits within which the policy of the Chinese obliges every European at Canton to confine his curiosity. I should otherwise have felt exceedingly tantalized with living under the walls of so great a city, full of objects of novelty, without being able to enter it. The accounts given of this place, by Peres le Comte and Du Halde, are in every one's hand. These authors have lately been accused of great exaggeration by M. Sonnerat; for which reason, the following observations, collected from the information with which I have been obligingly furnished by several English gentlemen, who were a long time resident at Canton, may not be unacceptable to the public.

Canton, including the old and new town, and the suburbs, is about ten miles in circuit. With respect to its population, if one may judge of the whole, from what is seen in the suburbs, I should conceive it to fall considerably short of an European town of the same magnitude. Le Comte estimated the number of inhabitants at one million five hundred thousand; Du Halde at one million; and M. Sonnerat says he has ascertained them to be no more than seventy-five thousand;[a] but as this gentleman has not favoured us with the grounds on which his calculation was founded, and, besides, appears as desirous of depreciating every thing that relates to the Chinese, as the Jesuits may be of magnifying, his opinion certainly admits of some doubt. The following circumstances may perhaps lead the reader to form a judgment with tolerable accuracy on this subject.

A Chinese house, undoubtedly, occupies more space than is usually taken up by houses in Europe; but the proportion, suggested by M. Sonnerat, of four or five to one, certainly goes much beyond the truth. To this should be added, that a great many houses, in the suburbs of Canton, are occupied for commercial purposes only, by merchants and rich tradesmen, whose families live entirely within the city. On the other hand, a Chinese family appears to consist, on an average, of more persons than an European. A *Mandarin,*



[a] J'ai *vérifié* moi-même, avec plusieurs Chinois, la population de Canton, de la ville de Tartare, et de celle de Battaux, &c.—*Voyage aux Indes, &c.* par M. Sonnerat, tom. ii. p. 14.

*rin*, according to his rank and substance, has from five to twenty wives. A merchant, from three to five. One of this class at Canton, had, indeed, twenty-five wives, and thirty-six children; but this was mentioned to me as a very extraordinary instance. An opulent tradesman has usually two; and the lower class of people very rarely more than one. Their servants are at least double in number to those employed by persons of the same condition in Europe. If, then, we suppose a Chinese family one-third larger, and an European house two-thirds less than each other, a Chinese city will contain only half the number of inhabitants contained in an European town of the same size. According to these *data*, the city and suburbs of Canton may probably contain about one hundred and fifty thousand.

With respect to the number of inhabited *sampanes*, I found different opinions were entertained; but none placing them lower than forty thousand. They are moored in rows close to each other, with a narrow passage, at intervals, for the boats to pass up and down the river. As the Tygris, at Canton, is somewhat wider than the Thames at London; and the whole river is covered in this manner for the extent of at least a mile, this account of their number does not appear to me in the least exaggerated; and if it be allowed, the number of inhabitants in the sampanes alone (for each of them contains one family) must amount to nearly three times the number supposed by M. Sonnerat to be in the whole city.

The military force of the province, of which Canton is the capital, amounts to fifty thousand men. It is said, that twenty thousand are stationed in and about the city; and, as a proof of this, I was assured, that, on the occasion of some disturbance that had happened at Canton, thirty thousand men were drawn together within the space of a few hours.

The streets are long, and most of them narrow and irregular, but well paved with large stones, and, for the most part, kept exceedingly clean. The houses are built of brick, one story high, having generally two or three courts backward, in which are the warehouses for merchandise, and, in the houses within the city, the apartments for the women. A very few of the meanest sort are built of wood.

The houses belonging to the European factors are built on an handsome quay, with a regular façade of two stories

toward

toward the river, and disposed within, partly after the European, and partly after the Chinese manner. Adjoining to these are a number of houses belonging to the Chinese, and hired out to the commanders of ships and merchants, who make an occasional stay. As no European is allowed to bring his wife to Canton, the English supercargoes live together at a common table, which is kept by the company, and have each a separate apartment, consisting of three or four rooms. The time of their residence seldom exceeds eight months annually; and as they are pretty constantly employed, during that time, in the service of the company, they may submit with the less regret to the restraints they are kept under. They very rarely pay any visits within the walls of Canton, except on public occasions. Indeed, nothing gave me so unfavourable an idea of the character of the Chinese, as to find, that, amongst so many persons of liberal minds and amiable manners, some of whom have resided in that country for near fifteen years together, they have never formed any friendship or social connection. As soon as the last ship quits Wampû, they are all obliged to retire to Macao; but, as a proof of the excellent police of the country, they leave all the money they possess in specie behind them, which, I was told, sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and for which they had no other security than the seals of the merchants of the hong, the viceroy, and mandarins.

During my stay at Canton, I was carried, by one of the English gentlemen, to visit a person of the first consequence in the place. We were received in a long room or gallery, at the upper end of which stood a table, with a large chair behind it, and a row of chairs extending from it on each side down the room. Being previously instructed, that the point of civility consisted in remaining as long unseated as possible, I readily acquitted myself of this piece of etiquette; after which we were entertained with tea and some preserved and fresh fruits. Our host was very fat, with a heavy dull countenance, and of great gravity in his deportment. He spoke a little broken English and Portuguese; and, after we had taken our refreshment, he carried us about his house and garden; and having shewed us all the improvements he was making, we took our leave.

Having procured an account of the price of provisions at Canton, as settled for the year 1780, which the reader will find

find at the end of this section, I have only to observe, that the different articles are supposed to be the best of the kind; and that the natives purchase the same for nearly one-third less than the price, which, in the list, is fixed only for strangers.

I had hitherto intended, as well to avoid the trouble and delay of applying for passports, as to save the unnecessary expence of hiring a sampane, which, I understood, amounted at least to twelve pounds sterling, to go along with the stores to Macao, in the country merchant's ship I have before mentioned; but having received an invitation from two English gentlemen, who had obtained passports for four, I accepted, along with Mr Philips, their offer of places in a Chinese boat, and left Mr Lannyon to take care of the men and stores, which were to sail the next day. In the evening of the 26th, I took my leave of the supercargoes, having thanked them for their many obliging favours; amongst which I must not forget to mention an handsome present of tea for the use of the ships' companies, and a large collection of English periodical publications. The latter we found a valuable acquisition; as they both served to amuse our impatience, during our tedious voyage home, and enabled us to return not total strangers to what had been transacting in our native country. At one o'clock the next morning we left Canton, and arrived at Macao about the same hour the day following, having passed down a channel, which lies to the westward of that by which we had come up.

During our absence, a brisk trade had been carrying on with the Chinese for the sea-otter skins, which had every day been rising in their value. One of our seamen sold his stock alone for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans, were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered, that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been

worn

worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterward preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that, probably, we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.

The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's river, and by another cargo of skins to make their fortunes, at one time was not far short of mutiny; and I must own, I could not help indulging myself in a project, which the disappointment we had suffered, in being obliged to leave the Japanese archipelago, and the northern coast of China, unexplored, first suggested; and, by what I conceived, that object might still be happily accomplished, through means of the East India Company, not only without expence, but even with the prospect of very considerable advantages. Though the situation of affairs at home, or perhaps greater difficulties in the execution of my scheme than I had foreseen, have hitherto prevented its being carried into effect, yet, as I find the plan in my journal, and still retain my partiality for it, I hope it will not be entirely foreign to the nature of this work, if I beg leave to insert it here.

I proposed then, that the company's China ships should carry an additional complement of men each, making in all one hundred. Two vessels, one of two hundred, and the other of one hundred and fifty tons, might, I was told, with proper notice, be readily purchased at Canton; and, as victualling is not dearer there than in Europe, I calculate, that they might be completely fitted out for sea, with a year's pay and provision, for six thousand pounds, including the purchase. The expence of the necessary articles for barter is scarcely worth mentioning. I would, by all means, recommend, that each ship should have five tons of unwrought iron, a forge, and an expert smith, with a journeyman and apprentice, who might be ready to forge such tools as it should appear the Indians were most desirous of. For, though six of the finest skins purchased by us, were got for a dozen large green glass beads, yet it is well known, that the fancy of these people for articles of ornament is exceedingly

exceedingly capricious; and that iron is the only sure commodity for their market. To this might be added a few gross of large-pointed case-knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth, (linen they would not accept of from us,) and a barrel or two of copper and glass trinkets.

I have here proposed two ships, not only for the greater security of the expedition, but because I think single ships ought never to be sent out on discoveries. For where risks are to be run, and doubtful and hazardous experiments tried, it cannot be expected that single ships should venture so far, as where there is some security provided against untoward accident.

The vessels being now ready for sea, will sail with the first south-westerly monsoon, which generally sets in about the beginning of April. With this wind they will steer to the northward, along the coast of China, beginning a more accurate survey from the mouth of the river Kyana, or the Nankin River, in latitude 30°, which, I believe, is the utmost limit of this coast hitherto visited by European ships. As the extent of that deep gulf called Whang Hay, or the Yellow Sea, is at present unknown, it must be left to the discretion of the commander, to proceed up it as far as he may judge prudent; but he must be cautious not to entangle himself too far in it, lest he should want time for the prosecution of the remaining part of his enterprise. The same discretion must be used when he arrives in the Straits of Tessoi, with respect to the islands of Jeso, which, if the wind and weather be favourable, he will not lose the opportunity of exploring.

Having proceeded to the latitude of 51° 40′, where he will make the southernmost point of the island of Sagaleen, beyond which the sea of Okotzk is sufficiently known, he will steer to the southward, probably in the beginning of June, and endeavour to fall in with the southernmost of the Kurile Islands. Ooroop, or Nadeschda, according to the accounts of the Russians, will furnish the ships with a good harbour, where they may wood and water, and take in such other refreshments as the place may afford. Toward the end of June, they will shape their course for the Shummagins, and from thence to Cook's River, purchasing, as they proceed, as many skins as they are able, without losing too much time, since they ought to steer again to the southward, and trace the coast with great accuracy from

from the latitude of 56° to 50°, the space from which we were driven out of sight of land by contrary winds. It should here be remarked, that I consider the purchase of skins, in this expedition, merely a secondary object, for defraying the expence; and it cannot be doubted, from our experience in the present voyage, that two hundred and fifty skins, worth one hundred dollars each, may be procured without any loss of time; especially as it is probable they will be met with along the coast to the southward of Cook's River.

Having spent three months on the coast of America, they will set out on their return to China early in the month of October, avoiding, in their route, as much as possible, the tracks of former navigators. I have now only to add, that if the fur trade should become a fixed object of Indian commerce, frequent opportunities will occur of completing whatever may be left unfinished, in the voyage of which I have here ventured to delineate the outlines.

The barter which had been carrying on with the Chinese for sea-otter skins, had produced a very whimsical change in the dress of all our crew. On our arrival in the Typa, nothing could exceed the ragged appearance both of the younger officers and seamen; for, as our voyage had already exceeded, by near a twelvemonth, the time it was at first imagined we should remain at sea, almost the whole of our original stock of European clothes had been long worn out, or patched up with skins and the various manufactures we had met with in the course of our discoveries. These were now again mixed and eked out with the gaudiest silks and cottons of China.

On the 30th, Mr Lannyon arrived with the stores and provisions, which were immediately stowed, in due proportion, on board the two ships. The next day, agreeably to a bargain made by Captain Gore, I sent our sheet-anchor to the country ship, and received in return the guns, which she before rode by.

Whilst we lay in the Typa, I was shewn, in a garden belonging to an English gentleman at Macao, the rock, under which, as the tradition there goes, the poet Camoens used to sit and compose his Lusiad. It is a lofty arch, of one solid stone, and forms the entrance of a grotto, dug out of the rising ground behind it. The rock is overshadowed

dowed by large spreading trees, and commands an extensive and magnificent view of the sea, and the interspersed islands.

On the 11th of January, two seamen, belonging to the Resolution, found means to run off with a six-oared cutter, and, notwithstanding diligent search was made both that and the following day, we were never able to learn any tidings of her. It was supposed, that these people had been seduced by the prevailing notion of making a fortune, by returning to the fur islands.

As we heard nothing, during our stay in the Typa, of the measurement of our ships, it may be concluded, that the point, so strongly contested by the Chinese, in Lord Anson's time, has, in consequence of his firmness and resolution, never since been insisted on.

The following nautical observations were made while we lay here:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harbour of Macao - | lat. | 22° | 12′ | 0″ | north. |
| | long. | 113 | 47 | 0 | east. |
| Anchoring-place in the Typa - | lat. | 22 | 9 | 20 | north. |
| | long. | 113 | 48 | 34 | east. |
| Mean dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle - | | 21 | 1 | 0 | |
| Variation of the compass | | 0 | 19 | 0 | west. |

On the full and change days it was high water in the Typa at $5^h\ 15^m$, and in Macao harbour at $5^h\ 50^m$. The greatest rise was six feet one inch. The flood appeared to come from the south-eastward; but we could not determine this point with certainty, on account of the great number of islands which lie off the mouth of the river of Canton.

*Prices of Provisions at Canton,* 1780.

| | L. | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Annas - - | 0 | 4 | 0 | a score. |
| Arrack - - - | 0 | 0 | 8 | per bottle. |
| Butter - - - | 0 | 2 | 0¾ | per catty.[3] |

Beef,

[3] A catty is 18 oz.—A pecul 100 catty.

| | L. | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beef, Canton | 0 | 0 | $2\frac{3}{4}$ | |
| Ditto, Macao | 0 | 0 | $5\frac{1}{5}$ | |
| Birds' nests | 3 | 6 | 8 | |
| Biscuit | 0 | 0 | 4 | |
| Beache de Mar | 0 | 2 | $0\frac{4}{5}$ | |
| Calf | 1 | 6 | $9\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Caravances, dried | 0 | 0 | $2\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Cabbage, Nankeen | 0 | 0 | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | |
| Curry stuff | 0 | 1 | 4 | |
| Coffee | 0 | 1 | 4 | per catty. |
| Cocoa-nuts | 0 | 0 | 4 | each. |
| Charcoal | 0 | 3 | 4 | per pecul. |
| Coxice | 0 | 1 | 4 | per catty. |
| Canton nuts | 0 | 0 | 4 | |
| Chesnuts | 0 | 0 | $2\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Cockles | 0 | 0 | $3\frac{1}{5}$ | |
| Ducks | 0 | 0 | $5\frac{1}{5}$ | |
| Ditto, wild | 0 | 1 | $0\frac{4}{5}$ | |
| Deers' sinews | 0 | 2 | $1\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Eels | 0 | 0 | $6\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Eggs | 0 | 2 | 0 | per hundred. |
| Fish, common | 0 | 0 | $3\frac{1}{5}$ | per catty. |
| Ditto, best | 0 | 0 | $6\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Ditto salted, Nankeen | 0 | 0 | $9\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Fruit | 0 | 0 | $1\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Ditto, Nankeen | 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| Frogs | 0 | 0 | $6\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Flour | 0 | 0 | $1\frac{76}{100}$ | |
| Fowls, capons, &c. | 0 | 0 | $7\frac{1}{5}$ | |
| Fish-maws | 0 | 2 | $1\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Geese | 0 | 0 | $6\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Greens | 0 | 0 | $1\frac{3}{4}$ | |
| Grass | 0 | 0 | $2\frac{2}{5}$ | per bundle. |
| Grapes | 0 | 1 | $0\frac{4}{5}$ | per catty. |
| Ham | 0 | 1 | $2\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Hartshorn | 0 | 1 | 4 | |
| Hogslard | 0 | 0 | $7\frac{1}{5}$ | |
| Hog, alive | 0 | 0 | $4\frac{3}{4}$ | |
| Kid, alive | 0 | 0 | $4\frac{3}{4}$ | |
| Limes | 0 | 0 | $0\frac{4}{5}$ | per catty. |
| Litches, dried | 0 | 0 | $2\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Locksoy | 0 | 0 | $6\frac{2}{5}$ | |
| Lobchocks | 0 | 0 | $5\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Lamp-oil | 0 | 0 | $5\frac{3}{5}$ | |
| Lamp-wick | 0 | 0 | 8 | |
| Melons | 0 | 0 | $4\frac{4}{5}$ | each. |

Milk

| | *L.* | *s.* | *d.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Milk - - - | 0 | 0 | 1¼ | per catty. |
| Ditto, Macao - - | 0 | 0 | 3⅕ | |
| Mustard seed - | 0 | 0 | 6⅖ | |
| Mushrooms, pickled - | 0 | 2 | 8 | |
| Ditto, fresh - - | 0 | 1 | 4 | |
| Oysters - - | 0 | 3 | 4 | per pecul. |
| Onions, dried - - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | per catty. |
| Pork - - | 0 | 0 | 7⅐ | |
| Pig - - - | 0 | 0 | 5⅗ | |
| Paddy - - | 0 | 0 | 0⅘ | |
| Pepper - - | 0 | 1 | 0⅘ | |
| Pheasants - - | 0 | 5 | 4 | each. |
| Partridges - - | 0 | 0 | 9⅕ | |
| Pigeons - - | 0 | 0 | 5⅕ | |
| Pomegranates - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | |
| Quails - - | 0 | 0 | 1⅗ | |
| Rabbits - - | 0 | 1 | 4 | |
| Rice - - - | 0 | 0 | 2 | per catty. |
| Ditto, red - - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | |
| Ditto, coarse - - | 0 | 0 | 1⅕ | |
| Ditto, Japan - - | 0 | 0 | 8 | |
| Raisins - - | 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| Sheep - - | 3 | 6 | 8 | each. |
| Snipes - - | 0 | 0 | 1½ | per catty. |
| Sturgeon - - | 0 | 4 | 9⅗ | |
| Ditto, small - - | 0 | 2 | 4⅘ | |
| Sugar - - | 0 | 0 | 3⅕ | |
| Salt - - - | 0 | 0 | 1⅗ | |
| Saltpetre - - | 0 | 2 | 1⅗ | |
| Soy - - - | 0 | 0 | 1⅗ | |
| Spices - - | 0 | 16 | 8 | |
| Sweetmeats - - | 0 | 0 | 6⅖ | |
| Sago - - - | 0 | 0 | 3⅕ | |
| Sallad - - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | |
| Sharks' fins - - | 0 | 2 | 1⅗ | |
| Samsui soy - - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | |
| Teal - - - | 0 | 0 | 6⅖ | each. |
| Turtle - - | 0 | 0 | 9⅗ | per catty. |
| Tea - - - | 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| Turmerick - - | 0 | 0 | 2⅖ | |
| Tamarinds - - | 0 | 0 | 8 | |
| Vinegar - - | 0 | 0 | 1⅗ | |
| Vermicelli - - | 0 | 0 | 3⅕ | |
| Wax-candles - | 0 | 3 | 0 | |
| Walnuts - - | 0 | 0 | 4⅘ | |

Wood

| | L. | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wood - - | 0 | 1 | 4 | per pecul. |
| Water - - | 0 | 6 | 8 | per 100 barrels. |
| Rent of Poho Factory - | 400 | 0 | 0 | per annum. |
| —— of Lunsoon - | 316 | 13 | 4 | |
| Servant's rice - - | 0 | 8 | 0 | per month. |
| Ditto wages - - | 0 | 19 | 2½ | do. for resiants. |

| | Doll. | |
|---|---|---|
| Servant's wages for the season - | 20 | |
| Steward's wages - - - | 80 | |
| Butler's ditto - - - | 80 | per annum. |

*Prices of Labour.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A coolee, or porter - | 0 | 0 | 8 | per day. |
| A tailor - - | 0 | 0 | 5 | and rice. |
| A handicraftsman - | 0 | 0 | 8 | |

A common labourer, from 3d. to 5d.
A woman's labour considerably cheaper.

## SECTION X.

*Leave the Typa.—Orders of the Court of France respecting Captain Cook.—Resolutions in consequence thereof.—Strike Soundings on the Macclesfield Banks.—Pass Pulo Sapata.—Steer for Pulo Condore.—Anchor at Pulo Condore.—Transactions during our Stay.—Journey to the principal Town.—Receive a Visit from a Mandarin.—Examine his Letters.—Refreshments to be procured.—Description, and present State of the Island.—Its produce.—An Assertion of M. Sonnerat refuted.—Astronomical and Nautical Observations.*

ON the 12th of January, 1780, at noon, we unmoored, and scaled the guns, which, on board my ship, now amounted to ten; so that, by means of four additional ports, we could, if occasion required, fight seven on a side. In like manner, the Resolution had increased the number of her guns from twelve to sixteen; and, in both ships, a stout barricade

barricade was carried round their upper works, and every other precaution taken to give our small force as respectable an appearance as possible.

We thought it our duty to provide ourselves with these means of defence, though we had some reason to believe that the generosity of our enemies had, in a great measure, rendered them superfluous. We were informed at Canton, that the public prints, which had arrived last from England, made mention of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war, captured in Europe, directing their commanders, in case of falling in with the ships that sailed under the command of Captain Cook, to suffer them to proceed on their voyage without molestation. The same orders were also said to have been given by the American congress to the vessels employed in their service. As this intelligence was farther confirmed by the private letters of several of the supercargoes, Captain Gore thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in our favour, to refrain from availing himself of any opportunities of capture which these seas might afford, and to preserve, throughout his voyage, the strictest neutrality.[1]

At

[1] On this subject we are presented with a communication in the Biog. Brit., made on the authority and from the materials of Sir Joseph Banks. As that work is now probably in few hands, and as the information itself is extremely interesting, it would be injustice to the readers, in general, not to put them in possession of the facts of the case. But the writer, not wishing to " extenuate or set down aught in malice," prefers a fair copy of the entire passage, to any imperfect, and perhaps scarcely unprejudiced abstract of its contents.

" Not long after Captain Cook's death, an event occurred in Europe, which had a particular relation to the voyage of our Navigator, and which was so honourable to himself, and to the great nation from whom it proceeded, that it is no small pleasure to me to be able to lay the transaction somewhat at large before my readers. What I refer to is, the letter which was issued, on the 19th of March, 1779, by Monsieur Sartine, Secretary of the Marine Department at Paris, and sent to all the commanders of French ships. The rescript was as follows: ' Captain Cook, who sailed from Plymouth in July, 1776, on board the Resolution, in company with the Discovery, Captain Clerke, in order to make some discoveries on the coasts, islands, and seas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe; and such discoveries being of general utility to all nations, it is the king's pleasure, that Captain Cook shall be treated as a commander of a neutral and allied power, and that all captains of armed vessels, &c. who may meet that famous Navigator, shall make him acquainted

At two in the afternoon, having got under sail, the Resolution saluted the fort of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned with the same number. At five, the wind dropping, the ship missed stays, and drove into shallow water;

quainted with the king's orders on this behalf; but, at the same time, let him know, that, on his part, he must refrain from all hostilities.' By the Marquis of Condorcet we are informed, that this measure originated in the liberal and enlightened mind of that excellent citizen and statesman, Monsieur Turgot. 'When war,' says the Marquis, 'was declared between France and England, M. Turgot saw how honourable it would be to the French nation, that the vessel of Captain Cook should be treated with respect at sea. He composed a memorial, in which he proved, that honour, reason, and even interest, dictated this act of respect for humanity; and it was in consequence of this memorial, the author of which was unknown during his life, that an order was given not to treat as an enemy, the common benefactor of every European nation.' Whilst great praise is due to Monsieur Turgot, for having suggested the adoption of a measure which hath contributed so much to the reputation of the French government, it must not be forgotten, that the first thought of such a plan of conduct was probably owing to Dr Benjamin Franklin. Thus much, at least, is certain, that this eminent philosopher, when Embassador at Paris from the United States of America, preceded the court of France in issuing a similar requisition; a copy of which cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader.

'*To all Captains and Commanders of Armed Ships, acting by Commission from the Congress of the United States of America, now in war with Great Britain.*

'Gentlemen,

'A ship having been fitted out from England before the commencement of this war, to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most celebrated Navigator and Discoverer, Captain Cook; an undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented, and science of other kinds increased, to the benefit of mankind in general.—This is therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you, that in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England, by detaining her, or sending her into any other part of Europe, or to America; but that you would treat the said Captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindness, affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power, which they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing, you will not only gratify the generosity of your

ter; but, by carrying out an anchor, she was hauled off without receiving the smallest damage. The weather continuing calm, we were obliged to warp out into the entrance of the Typa, which we gained by eight o'clock, and lay

your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of the Congress, and your other American owners.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN,

Minister Plenipotentiary from the Congress of the United States, at the Court of France.

*At Passy, near Paris, this 10th day of March,* 1779.'

"It is observable, that as Dr Franklin acted on his own authority, he could only *earnestly recommend* to the commanders of American armed vessels not to consider Captain Cook as an enemy; and it is somewhat remarkable, that he mentions no more than one ship; Captain Clerke not being noticed in the requisition. In the confidence which the Doctor expressed, with respect to the approbation of Congress, he happened to be mistaken. As the members of that assembly, at least with regard to the greater part of them, were not possessed of minds equally enlightened with that of their embassador, he was not supported by his masters in this noble act of humanity, of love to science, and of liberal policy. The orders he had given were instantly reversed; and it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken to seize Captain Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a false notion, that it would be injurious to the United States for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America. The conduct of the court of Spain was regulated by similar principles of jealousy It was apprehended by that court, that there was reason to be cautious of granting, too easily, an indulgence to Captain Cook; since it was not certain what mischiefs might ensue to the Spaniards from a northern passage to their American dominions. M. de Belluga, a Spanish gentleman and officer, of a liberal and a philosophical turn of mind, and who was a member of the Royal Society of London, endeavoured to prevail upon the count of Florida Blanca, and M. d'Almodavar, to grant an order of protection to the Resolution and Discovery; and he flattered himself, that the ministers of the king of Spain would be prevailed upon to prefer the cause of science to the partial views of interest; but the Spanish government was not capable of rising to so enlarged and magnanimous a plan of policy. To the French nation alone, therefore, was reserved the honour of setting an example of wisdom and humanity, which, I trust, will not, hereafter, be so uncommon in the history of mankind."

The illiberality of his contemporaries, it may be remarked, is not one of the least evils with which a mind advanced beyond their standard, has to contend; but he has always one consolation in which he may take refuge —the time will come when the gratitude of science and humanity will vindicate his views, though charity, perhaps, forbid their jealousy and prejudices

lay there till nine the next morning; when, by the help of a fresh breeze from the east, we stood to the southward, between Potoe and Wungboo.

At noon, we were saluted by a Swedish ship, as she passed us, on her way to Europe. At four, the Ladrone bore E., distant two leagues. We now steered S. ½ E., with a fresh breeze from the E.N.E., without any occurrence worth remarking, till noon of the 15th, when, being in latitude 18° 57′, and longitude 114° 13′, the wind veering to the N., we directed our course half a point more to the eastward, in order to strike soundings over the Macclesfield Bank. This we effected at eight in the evening of the 16th, and found the depth of water to be fifty fathoms, over a bottom of white sand and shells. This part of the Macclesfield shoals we placed in latitude 15° 51′, and in longitude 114° 20′; which agrees very exactly with the position given in Mr Dalrymple's map, whose general accuracy, if it stood in need of any support, was confirmed, in this instance, by a great number of lunar observations, which we had an opportunity of making every day since we left the Typa. The variation was found to be, in the forenoon, 0° 39′ W.

On the 17th, we had heavy gales from the E. by N., with a rough tumbling sea, and the weather overcast and boisterous. On the 18th, the wind still continuing to blow strong, and the sea to run high, we altered our course to S.W. by S.; and at noon, being in latitude 12° 34′, longitude 112°, we began to steer a point more to the westward for Pulo Sapata, which we saw on the 19th, at four in the afternoon, bearing N.W. by W., about four leagues distant. This small, high, barren island, is called *Sapata*, from its resemblance of a shoe. Our observations, compared with Mr Bayley's time-keeper, place it in latitude 10° 4′ N. longitude 109° 10′ E. The gale had, at this time, increased with such violence, and the sea ran so high, as to oblige us to close-reef the topsails. During the last three days, the ships

dices to be remembered as a contrast. Nations never more injure themselves in opinion, which is so closely connected with their best interests, than when, from narrow policy and unfounded suspicions, they obstruct, or attempt to obstruct, the prosecution of undertakings which have the welfare of our common nature for their object. The best apology which it is possible to make for them in such cases, is, that they are too ignorant to comprehend how the general improvement of human concerns implies the enlargement of their own advantages.—E.

ships had outrun their reckoning at the rate of twenty miles a-day, and as we could not attribute the whole of this to the effects of a following sea, we imputed it in part to a current, which, according to my own calculations, had set forty-two miles to the S.S.W., between the noon of the 19th and the noon of the 20th; and is taken into the account in determining the situation of the island.

After passing Sapata, we steered to the westward; and at midnight sounded, and had ground with fifty fathoms of line, over a fine sandy bottom. In the morning of the 20th, the wind becoming more moderate, we let out the reefs, and steered W. by S. for Pulo Condore. At noon, the latitude was 8° 46′ N., longitude 106° 45′ E.; and at half-past twelve we got sight of the island, bearing W. At four, the extremes of Pulo Condore, and the islands that lie off it, bore S.E. and S.W. by W.; our distance from the nearest islands being two miles. We kept to the N. of the islands, and stood for the harbour on the S.W. end of Condore, which, having its entrance from the N.W. is the best sheltered during the N.E. monsoon. At six, we anchored, with the best bower, in six fathoms, veered away two-thirds of the cable, and kept the ship steady with a stream-anchor and cable to the S.E. When moored, the extremes of the entrance of the harbour bore N. by W., and W.N. W. ½ W.; the opening at the upper end S.E. by E. ¾ E.; our distance from the nearest shore a quarter of a mile.

As soon as we were come to anchor, Captain Gore fired a gun, with a view of apprising the natives of our arrival, and drawing them toward the shore, but without effect. Early in the morning of the 21st, parties were sent to cut wood, which was Captain Gore's principal motive for coming hither. In the afternoon, a sudden gust of wind broke the stream-cable, by which the Discovery was riding, and obliged us to moor with the bower-anchors.

None of the natives having yet made their appearance, notwithstanding a second gun had been fired, Captain Gore thought it adviseable to land, and go in search of them, that no time might be lost in opening a trade for such provisions as the place could afford; with this view, he appointed me to accompany him, in the morning of the 22d; and, as the wind at this time blew strong from the E., we did not think it prudent to coast in our boats to the town, which is situated in the E. side of the island, but rowed round

round the north point of the harbour. We had proceeded about two miles along the shore, when, observing a road that led into a wood, we landed. Here I quitted Captain Gore, taking with me a midshipman and four armed sailors, and pursued the path which seemed to point directly across the island. We proceeded through a thick wood, up a steep hill, to the distance of a mile, when, after descending through a wood of the same extent, on the other side, we came out into a flat, open, sandy country, interspersed with cultivated spots of rice and tobacco, and groves of cabbage palm-trees and cocoa-nut trees. We here spied two huts, situated on the edge of the wood, to which we directed our course; and, before we came up to them, were descried by two men, who immediately ran away from us, notwithstanding all the peaceable and supplicating gestures we could devise.

On reaching the huts, I ordered the party to stay without, lest the sight of so many armed men should terrify the inhabitants, whilst I entered and reconnoitred alone. I found, in one of the huts, an elderly man, who was in a great fright, and preparing to make off with the most valuable of his effects that he could carry. However, I was fortunate enough, in a very little time, so entirely to dispel his fears, that he came out, and called to the two men, who were running away, to return. The old man and I now soon came to a perfect understanding. A few signs, particularly that most significant one of holding out a handful of dollars, and then pointing to a herd of buffaloes, and the fowls that were running about the huts in great numbers, left him without any doubts as to the real objects of our visit. He pointed toward a place where the town stood, and made us comprehend, that, by going thither, all our wants would be supplied. By this time, the young men, who had fled, were returned; and the old man ordered one of them to conduct us to the town, as soon as an obstacle should be removed, of which we were not aware. On our first coming out of the wood, a herd of buffaloes, to the number of twenty at least, came running toward us, tossing up their heads, snuffing the air, and roaring in a hideous manner. They had followed us to the huts, and stood drawn up in a body, at a little distance; and the old man made us understand, that it would be exceedingly dangerous for us to move till they were driven into the woods; but so enraged were the ani-

 mals

mals grown at the sight of us, that this was not effected without a good deal of time and difficulty. The men not being able to accomplish it, we were surprised to see them call to their assistance a few little boys, who soon drove them out of sight. Afterward, we had occasion to observe, that, in driving these animals, and securing them, which is done by putting a rope through a hole which is made in their nostrils, little boys were always employed, who could stroke and handle them with impunity, at times when the men durst not approach them. Having got rid of the buffaloes, we were conducted to the town, which was at a mile's distance; the road to it lying through a deep white sand. It is situated near the sea-side, at the bottom of a retired bay, which must afford a safe road-stead during the prevalence of the S.W. monsoons.

This town consists of between twenty and thirty houses, built close together; besides six or seven others that are scattered about the beach. The roof, the two ends, and the side fronting the country, are neatly constructed of reeds; the opposite side, facing the sea, is entirely open; but, by means of a sort of bamboo screens, they can exclude or let in as much of the sun or air as they please. We observed, likewise, other large screens or partitions, for the purpose of dividing, as occasion required, the single room of which the house, properly speaking, consists, into separate apartments.

We were conducted to the largest house in the town, belonging to their chief, or, as they called him, their captain. This house had a room at each end, separated by a partition of reeds from the middle space, which was open on both sides, and provided with partition screens like the others. It had, besides, a penthouse, projecting four or five feet beyond the roof, and running the whole length on each side. At each end of the middle room were hung some Chinese paintings, representing men and women in ludicrous attitudes. In this apartment we were civilly desired to seat ourselves on mats, and *betel* was presented to us.

By means of my money, and pointing at different objects in sight, I had no difficulty in making a man, who seemed to be the principal person of the company, comprehend the main business of our errand; and I as readily understood from him, that the chief, or captain, was absent, but would soon return; and that, without his consent, no pur-

chases of any kind could be made. We availed ourselves of the opportunity which this circumstance afforded us, to walk about the town; and did not forget to search, though in vain, for the remains of a fort, which had been built by our countrymen near the spot we were now upon, in 1702.[a]

On returning to the captain's house, we were sorry to find that he was not yet arrived; and the more so, as the time was almost elapsed which Captain Gore had fixed for our return to the boat. The natives were desirous we should lengthen our stay; they even proposed our passing the night there, and offered to accommodate us in the best manner in their power. I had observed, when we were in the house before, and now remarked it the more, that the man I have mentioned above frequently retired into one of the end rooms, and staid there some little time, before he answered the questions that were put to him; which led me to suspect that the captain was all the time there, though, for reasons best known to himself, he did not choose to appear; and I was confirmed in this opinion, by being stopped as I was attempting to go into the room. At length, it clearly appeared that my suspicions were well founded; for, on our preparing to depart, the person who had so often passed in and out, came from the room, with a paper in his hand, and gave it to me to read; and I was not a little surprised to find in it a sort of a certificate, in French, as follows:

PIERRE JOSEPH GEORGE, Evêque d'Adran, Vicaire Apost. de Cochin China, &c. &c.

Le petit *Mandarin*, porteur de cet écrit, est véritablement Envoyé de la cour à Pulo Condore, pour y attendre et recevoir tout vaisseau European qui auroit sa destination d'approcher

[a] The English settled here in the year 1702, when the factory of Chusan, on the coast of China, was broken up, and brought with them some Macassar soldiers, who were hired to assist in building a fort; but the president not fulfilling his engagement with them, they watched an opportunity, and one night murdered all the English in the fort. Those without the fort hearing a noise, took the alarm, and ran to their boats, very narrowly escaping with their lives, but not without much fatigue, hunger, and thirst, to the Johore dominions, where they were treated with great humanity. Some of these afterward went to form a settlement at Benjar-Massean, on the island of Borneo.—*East India Directory*, p. 86.

d'approcher ici. Le Capitaine, en consequence, pourroit se fier ou pour conduire le vaisseau au port, ou pour faire passer les nouvelles qu'll pourroit croire nécessaire.

PIERRE JOSEPH GEORGE,
Evêque d'Adran.

A SAI-GON, 10 d'Août, 1779.

We returned the paper, with many protestations of our being the *Mandarin's* good friends, begging he might be informed that we hoped he would do us the favour to visit the ships, that we might convince him of it. We now took our leave, well satisfied on the whole with what had passed, but full of conjectures about this extraordinary French paper. Three of the natives offered their services to accompany us back, which we readily accepted, and returned by the way we came. Captain Gore felt peculiar satisfaction at seeing us; for, as we had exceeded our time near an hour, he began to be alarmed for our safety, and was preparing to march after us. He and his party had, during our absence, been profitably employed, in loading the boat with the cabbage-palm, which abounds in this bay. Our guides were made exceedingly happy, on our presenting them with a dollar each for their trouble, and intrusting to their care a bottle of rum for the *Mandarin*. One of them chose to accompany us on board.

At two in the afternoon we joined the ships, and several of our shooting parties returned about the same time from the woods, having had little success, though they saw a great variety of birds and animals, some of which will be hereafter noticed.

At five, a *proa*, with six men, rowed up to the ship, from the upper end of the harbour, and a decent-looking personage introduced himself to Captain Gore with an ease and good breeding, which convinced us his time had been spent in other company than what this island afforded. He brought with him the French paper above transcribed, and said he was the *Mandarin* mentioned in it. He spoke a few Portuguese words; but, as none of us were acquainted with this language, we were obliged to have recourse to a black man on board, who could speak the Malay, which is the general language of these islanders, and was understood by the *Mandarin*. After a little previous conversation, he declared to us that he was a Christian, and had been bap-

tised

tised by the name of Luco; that he had been sent hither in August last, from Sai-gon, the capital of Cochin China, and had since waited in expectation of some French ships, which he was to pilot to a safe port, not more than a day's sail hence, upon the coast of Cochin China. We acquainted him, that we were not French, but English, and asked him, whether he did not know that these two nations were now at war with one another. He made answer in the affirmative; but, at the same time, signified to us, that it was indifferent to him to what nation the ships he was instructed to wait for belonged, provided their object was to trade with the people of Cochin China. He here produced another paper, which he desired us to read. This was a letter sealed, and directed "To the captains of any European vessels that may touch at Condore." Although we apprehended that this letter was designed for French ships in particular, yet as the direction included all European captains, and as Luco was desirous of our perusing it, we broke the seal, and found it to be written by the bishop who wrote the certificate. Its contents were as follows: "That having reason to expect, by some late intelligence from Europe, that a vessel would soon come to Cochin China, he had, in consequence of this news, got the court to send a *Mandarin* (the bearer) to Pulo Condore, to wait its arrival; that if the vessel should put in there, the commander might either send by the bearer an account to him of his arrival, or trust himself to the *Mandarin,* who would pilot him into a well-sheltered port in Cochin China, not more than a day's sail from Condore; that, should he choose to remain in Condore till the return of the messenger, proper interpreters would be sent back, and any other assistance, which a letter should point out, be furnished; that it was unnecessary to be more particular, of which the captain himself must be sensible." This letter had the same date as the certificate, and was returned to Luco again, without any copy being taken.

From this letter, and the whole of Luco's conversation, there remained little doubt, that it was a French ship he was to expect; at the same time we found he would be glad not to lose his errand, and had no objection to become our pilot. We could not discover from the *Mandarin,* the exact object and business which the vessel he was waiting for intended to prosecute in Cochin China. It is true, that our interpreter,

interpreter, the black, was extremely dull and stupid, and I should therefore be sorry, with such imperfect means of information, to run the risk of misleading the reader by any conjectures of my own, respecting the object of Luco's visit to this island. I shall only add, that he told us the French ships might perhaps have put into Tirnon, and from thence sail to Cochin China; and as he had received no intelligence of them, he thought this most likely to have been the case.

Captain Gore's enquiries were next directed to find out what supplies could be obtained from the island. Luco said, that he had two buffaloes of his own, which were at our service; and that there were plenty on the island, which might be purchased for four or five dollars a head; but finding that Captain Gore thought that sum exceedingly moderate, and would willingly give for them a much greater, the price was afterward raised upon us to seven and eight dollars.

Early in the morning of the 23d, the launches of both ships were sent to the town, to fetch the buffaloes which we had given orders to be purchased; but they were obliged to wait till it was high-water, as they could at no other time get through the opening at the head of the harbour. On their arrival at the village, they found the surf breaking on the beach with such force, that it was with the utmost difficulty each launch brought a buffaloe on board in the evening, and the officers, who were sent on this service, gave it as their opinion, that between the violence of the surf, and the fierceness of the buffaloes, it would be extremely imprudent to attempt bringing any more off in this way. We had purchased eight, and were now at a loss in what manner to proceed to get them on board. We could kill no more than was just necessary for the consumption of one day, as in this climate meat will not keep till the next. After consulting with Luco, it was concluded, that the remainder should be driven through the wood, and over the hill down to the bay, where Captain Gore and I had landed the day before, which being sheltered from the wind, was more free from surf. This plan was accordingly put in execution; but the untractableness and prodigious strength of the buffaloes, rendered it a tedious and difficult operation. The method of conducting them was, by passing ropes through their nostrils, and round their horns; but having

having been once enraged at the sight of our men, they became so furious, that they sometimes broke the trees, to which we were often under the necessity of tying them; sometimes they tore asunder the cartilage of the nostril, through which the ropes ran, and got loose. On these occasions, all the exertions of our men to recover them would have been ineffectual, without the assistance of some young boys, whom these animals would permit to approach them, and by whose little managements their rage was soon appeased. And when, at length, they were got down to the beach, it was by their aid, in twisting ropes round their legs, in the manner they were directed, that we were enabled to throw them down, and by that means to get them into the boats. A circumstance, respecting these animals, which I thought no less singular than this gentleness toward, and, as it should seem, affection for little children, was, that they had not been twenty-four hours on board, before they became the tamest of all creatures. I kept two of them, a male and female, for a considerable time, which became great favourites with the sailors, and, thinking that a breed of animals of such strength and size, some of them weighing, when dressed, seven hundred pounds weight, would be a valuable acquisition, I was inclined to have brought them with me to England; but my intention was frustrated by an incurable hurt that one of them received at sea.[3]

It was not till the 28th, that the buffaloes were all got on board; however, there was no reason to regret the time taken up by this service, since, in the interim, two wells of excellent water had been discovered, of which, as also of wood, part of the ships' companies had been employed in laying in a good supply; so that a shorter stop would be necessary, for replenishing our stock of these articles in the Strait of Sunda. A party had likewise been occupied in drawing the seine, at the head of the harbour, where they took a great many good fish; and another party, in cutting

[3] Mr Bingley informs us, that buffaloes have been introduced into some of the countries of Europe, where they are now perfectly naturalized. Thus in Italy they are said to constitute an essential part both of the riches and the food of the poor. So far as the writer knows, they have not yet been brought into England, and, indeed, notwithstanding the high opinion entertained of their good qualities, he thinks it doubtful if they would prove any acquisition to it.—E.

cutting down the cabbage palm, which was boiled and served out with the meat. Besides this, having been able to procure only a scanty supply of cordage at Macao, the repairing of our rigging was become an object of constant attention, and demanded all our spare time.

Pulo-Condore is high and mountainous, and surrounded by several smaller islands, some of which are less than one, and others two miles distant. It takes its name from two Malay words, *Pulo*, signifying an island, and *Condore*, a calabash, of which it produces great quantities. It is of the form of a crescent, extending near eight miles from the southernmost point, in a N.E. direction; but its breadth no where exceeds two miles. From the westernmost extremity, the land trends to the S.E. for about four miles; and opposite to this part of the coast there is an island, called, by Monsieur D'Apres,[4] *Little Condore*, which runs two miles in the same direction. This position of the two islands affords a safe and commodious harbour, the entrance into which is from the N.W. The distance between the two opposite coasts is three quarters of a mile, exclusive of a border of coral rock, which runs down along each side, extending about one hundred yards from the shore. The anchorage is very good, from eleven to five fathoms water, but the bottom is so soft and clayey, that we found great difficulty in weighing our anchors. Toward the bottom of the harbour there is shallow water for about half a mile, beyond which the two islands approach so near each other, as to leave only a passage at high water for boats. The most convenient place for watering is at a beach on the eastern side, where there is a small stream which furnished us with fourteen or fifteen tons of water a day.

This island, both with respect to animal and vegetable productions, is considerably improved since the time when Dampier visited it. Neither that writer, nor the compiler of the East India Directory, make mention of any other quadrupeds than hogs, which are said to be very scarce, lizards, and the guanoes; and the latter, on the authority of Monsieur Dedier, a French engineer, who surveyed the island about the year 1720, says, that none of the fruits and esculent plants, so common in the other parts of India, are to be found here, except water-melons, a few potatoes, small

[4] Neptune Oriental.

small gourds, *chibbolds,* (a small species of onion,) and little black beans. At present, besides the buffaloes, of which we understood there were several large herds, we purchased from the natives some remarkably fine fat hogs, of the Chinese breed. They brought us three or four of a wild sort; and our sportsmen reported, that they frequently met with their tracks in the woods, which also abound with monkies and squirrels, but so shy, that it was difficult to shoot them. One species of the squirrel was of a beautiful shining black colour; and another species striped brown and white. This is called the flying-squirrel, from being provided with a thin membrane, resembling a bat's wing, extended on each side the belly, from the neck to the thighs; which, on stretching out their legs, spreads and enables them to fly from tree to tree, at a considerable distance. Lizards were in great abundance; but I do not know that any of us saw the guano, and another animal described by Dampier[5] as resembling the guano, only much larger.

Amongst its vegetable improvements, I have already mentioned the fields of rice we passed through; and plantains, various kinds of pompions, cocoa-nuts, oranges, shaddocks, and pomegranates, were also met with; though, except the plantains and shaddocks, in no great abundance.

It is probable, from what has been already said, relative to the Bishop of Adran, that the French have introduced these improvements into the island, for the purpose of making it a more convenient refreshing station for any of their ships that may be bound for Cambodia, or Cochin China. Should they have made, or intend to make, any settlement in those countries, it is certainly well situated for that purpose, or for annoying the trade of their enemies, in case of war.

Our sportsmen were very unsuccessful in their pursuit of the feathered game, with which the woods are well stocked. One of our gentlemen had the good fortune to shoot a wild hen; and all the shooting parties agreed that they heard the crowing of the cocks on every side, which they described to be like that of our common cock, but shriller; that they saw several of them on the wing, but that they were exceedingly shy. The hen that was shot was of a speckled colour, and of the same shape, though not quite so

[5] Vid. Dampier, vol. i. p. 392.

so large, as a full-grown pullet of this country. Monsieur Sonnerat has entered into a long dissertation, to prove that he was the first person who determined the country to which this most beautiful and useful bird belongs, and denies that Dampier met with it here.

The land in the neighbourhood of the harbour is a continued high hill, richly adorned with a variety of fine tall trees, from the summit to the water's edge. Among others, we observed what Dampier calls the tar-tree;[6] but observed none that were tapped, in the manner he describes.

The inhabitants, who are fugitives from Cambodia and Cochin China, are not numerous. They are of a short stature, and very swarthy, and of a weak and unhealthy aspect; but, as far as we could judge, of a gentle disposition.

We remained here till the 28th of January; and, at taking leave of the *Mandarin,* Captain Gore, at his own request, gave him a letter of recommendation to the commanders of any other ships that might put in here; to which he added a handsome present. He likewise gave him a letter for the Bishop of Adran, together with a telescope, which he begged might be presented to him as a compliment for the services he had received, through his means, at Condore.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The harbour at Pulo Condore is in latitude - - - - - - | 8° | 40′ | 00″ | N. |
| Longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations - - | 105 | 18 | 46 | E. |
| Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle - - - - - | | 2 | 1 | |
| Variation of the compass - - | | | 14 | W. |
| High water, at the full and change of the moon - - - | 4ʰ 16ᵐ apparent time. | | | |

From this time the water continued, for twelve hours, without any visible alteration, viz. till $16^h$ $15^m$ apparent time, when it began to ebb; and at $22^h$ $15^m$ apparent time it was low water. The change, from ebbing to flowing, was very quick, or in less than $5^m$. The water rose and fell seven feet four inches perpendicular; and every day the same whilst we continued there.

SECTION

[6] Dampier, vol. i. p. 390.

## SECTION XI.

*Departure from Pulo Condore.—Passs the Straits of Banca.—View of the Island of Sumatra.—Straits of Sunda.—Occurrences there.—Description of the Island of Cracatoa.—Prince's Island.—Effects of the Climate of Java.—Run to the Cape of Good Hope.—Transactions there.—Description of False Bay.—Passage to the Orkneys.—General Reflections.*

ON the 28th day of January, 1780, we unmoored; and, as soon as we were clear of the harbour, steered S.S.W. for Pulo Timoan. On the 30th, at noon, the latitude by observation being 5° 0′ N., and longitude 104° 45′ E., we altered our course to S. ½ W., having a moderate breeze from the N.E., accompanied by fair weather. At two in the morning of the 31st, we had soundings of forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of fine white sand; at which time our latitude was 4° 4′ N., longitude 104° 29′ E., and the variation of the compass 0° 31′ E.

At one in the afternoon, we saw Pulo Timoan; and, at three, it bore S.S.W. ¾ W., distant ten miles. This island is high and woody, and has several small ones lying off to the westward. At five, Pulo Puissang was seen bearing S. by E. ¾ E.; and, at nine, the weather being thick and hazy, and having out-run our reckoning from the effect of some current, we were close upon Pulo Aor, in latitude 2° 46′ N., longitude 104° 37′ E., before we were well aware of it, which obliged us to haul the wind to the E.S.E. We kept this course till midnight, and then bore away S.S.E. for the Strait of Banca.

On the 1st of February, at noon, our latitude by observation was 1° 20′ N., and the longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations taken in the course of the preceding twelve hours, 105° E. At the same time, the longitude, by Mr Bayley's time-keeper corrected, was 105° 15′ E. We now steered S. by E.; and, at sun-set, having fine clear weather, saw Pulo Panjang; the body of the island bearing W.N.W., and the small islands, lying on the S.E. of it, W. ½ S., seven leagues distant. Our latitude, at this time, was 0° 53′ N.

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On the 2d, at eight in the morning, we tried for soundings, continuing to do the same every hour, till we passed the Strait of Sunda, and found the bottom with twenty-three fathoms of line. At noon, being in latitude, by observation, 0° 22′ S., longitude 105° 14′ E., and our soundings twenty fathoms, we came in sight of the little islands called Dominis, which lie off the eastern part of Lingen; and which bore from N. 62° W. to N. 80° W., five leagues distant. At this time we passed a great deal of wood drifting on the sea; and, at one o'clock, we saw Pulo Taya, bearing S.W. by W., distant seven leagues. It is a small high island, with two round peaks, and two detached rocks lying off to the northward. When abreast of this island, we had soundings of fifteen fathoms. During this and the preceding day, we saw great quantities of a reddish-coloured scum or spawn, floating on the water, in a southerly direction.

At day-light, on the 3d, we came in sight of the Three Islands; and, soon after, of Monopin Hill, on the island of Banca. At noon, this hill, which forms the N.E. point of the entrance of the Straits, bore S.E. ¾ S. distant six leagues; our latitude, by observation, being 1° 48′ S., and longitude 105° 3′ E., the soundings seventeen fathoms, and no perceivable variation in the compass.

Having got to the westward of the shoal, called Frederick Endric, at half-past two we entered the Straits, and bore away to the southward; and, in the afternoon, Monopin Hill bearing due E., we determined its latitude to be 2° 3′ S., the same as in Mons. D'Apres' map, and its longitude 105° 18′ E. At nine, a boat came off from the Banca shore, and having rowed round the ships, went away again. We hailed her in the Malaye tongue to come on board, but received no answer. At midnight, finding a strong tide against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms, Monopin Hill bearing N. 29° W.

On the 4th, in the morning, after experiencing some difficulty in weighing our anchors, owing to the stiff tenacious quality of the ground, we proceeded with the tide down the Straits; the little wind we had from the northward dying away as the day advanced. At noon, there being a perfect calm, and the tide making against us, we dropt our anchor in thirteen fathoms water, about three miles from what is called the Third Point, on the Sumatra shore, Monopin

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nopin Hill bearing N. 54° W. The latitude, by observation, was 2° 22′ S., longitude 105° 38′ E. At three in the afternoon we weighed, and stood on through the Straits with a light breeze; and at eight, were abreast of the Second Point, and passed it within two miles, in seventeen fathoms water; a sufficient proof that this Point may be bordered upon with safety. At midnight, we again came to anchor, on account of the tide, in thirteen fathoms, Mount Permissang, on the island of Banca, bearing N. 7° E., and the First Point S. 54° E., distant about three leagues.

In the morning of the 5th, we weighed, and kept on to the S.E.; and at ten, passed a small shoal, lying in a line with Lusepara and the First Point, at the distance of five miles from the latter. At noon, the island of Lusepara bearing S., 57° ½ E., four miles distant, we determined its latitude to be 3° 10′ ½ S., and its longitude 106° 15′ E. The difference of longitude between the island Lusepara, which lies in the S. entrance of the Strait of Banca and Monopin Hill, which forms one side of the entrance from the N., we found to be 55′, which is only two miles less than what is given in D'Apres' chart.

In passing this Strait, the coast of Sumatra may be approached somewhat closer than that of Banca. At the distance of two or three miles from the shore, there are ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen fathoms, free from rocks or shoals; however the lead is the surest guide. The country is covered with wood down to the water's edge, and the shores are so low, that the sea overflows the land, and washes the trunks of the trees. To this flat and marshy situation of the shore, we may attribute those thick fogs and vapours, which we perceived every morning, not without dread and horror, hanging over the island, till they were dispersed by the rays of the sun. The shores of Banca are much bolder, and the country inland rises to a moderate height, and appears to be well wooded throughout. We often saw fires on this island during the night-time; but none on the opposite shore. The tide runs through the Strait at the rate of between two and three knots an hour.

In the morning of the 6th, we passed to the westward of Lusepara, at the distance of four or five miles; generally carrying soundings of five or six fathoms water, and never less than four. We afterward steered S. by E.; and having brought Lusepara to bear due N., and deepened our water

to seven fathoms, we altered our course to S. by W., keeping the lead going, and hauling out a little, whenever we shoaled our water. The soundings on the Sumatra side we still found to be regular, and gradually shoaling as we approached the shore. At five in the afternoon we saw the Two Sisters, bearing S. by W. ½ W.; and at seven, we came to an anchor in ten fathoms, about eight miles to the N. of the islands. The weather was close and sultry, with light winds, generally from the N.W.; but sometimes varying round as far as the N.E.; and, during the night, we observed much lightning over Sumatra.

We weighed the next morning at five, and at eight were close in with the Sisters. These are two very small islands, well covered with wood, lying in latitude 5° 0′ ½ S., longitude 106° 12′ E., nearly N. and S. from each other, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks; the whole circumference of which is about four or five miles. At noon we got sight of the island of Java to the southward; the N.W. extremity of which (Cape St Nicholas) bore S.; North Island on Sumatra shore, S., 27° W., and the Sisters N., 27° E., distant four leagues; our latitude was 5° 21′ S., longitude 105° 57′ E.

At four in the afternoon we saw two sail in the Strait of Sunda; one lying at anchor near the Mid-channel Island, the other nearer the Java shore. Not knowing to what nation they might belong, we cleared our ships for action; and at six came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms, four miles E. by S. from North Island. Here we lay all night, and had very heavy thunder and lightning to the N.W.; from which quarter the wind blew in light breezes, accompanied with hard rain.

At eight o'clock the next morning we weighed, and proceeded through the Strait, the tide setting to the southward, as it had done all night; but about ten, the breeze failing, we came to again in thirty-five fathoms; a high island, or rather rock, called the Grand Toque, bearing S. by E. We were at this time not more than two miles from the ships, which now hoisting Dutch colours, Captain Gore sent a boat on board for intelligence. The rain still continued, with thunder and lightning.

Early in the afternoon the boat returned, with an account that the large ship was a Dutch East Indiaman, bound for Europe; and the other a packet from Batavia, with orders

ders for the several ships lying in the Strait. It is the custom for the Dutch ships, as soon as their lading is nearly completed, to leave Batavia on account of its extreme unwholesomeness, and proceed to some of the more healthy islands in the Strait, where they wait for the remainder of their cargo and their dispatches. Notwithstanding this precaution, the Indiaman had lost, since her departure from Batavia, four men, and had as many more whose recovery was despaired of. She had lain here a fortnight, and was now about to proceed to Cracatoa, having just received final orders by the packet.

At seven in the morning of the 9th we weighed, and stood on through the Strait to the S.W., keeping pretty close in with the islands on the Sumatra shore, in order to avoid a rock near Mid-channel Island, which lay on our left. At half after ten, I received orders from Captain Gore to make sail toward a Dutch ship, which now hove in sight to the southward, and which we supposed to be from Europe; and, according to the nature of the intelligence we could procure from her, either to join him at Cracatoa, where he intended to stop, for the purpose of supplying the ships with arrack, or to proceed to the S.E. end of Prince's Island, and there take in our water and wait for him.

I accordingly bore down toward the Dutch ship, which, soon after, came to an anchor to the eastward; when the wind slackening, and the current still setting very strong through the Strait to the S.W., we found it impossible to fetch her, and having therefore got as near her as the tide would permit, we also dropt anchor. I immediately dispatched Mr Williamson in the cutter with orders to get on board her, if possible; but as she lay near a mile off, and the tide ran with great rapidity, we soon perceived that the boat was dropping fast astern. We therefore made the signal to return, and immediately began to veer away the cable, and sent out a buoy astern, in order to assist him in getting on board again. Our poverty, in the article of cordage, was here very conspicuous; for we had not a single coil of rope in the store-room to fix the buoy, but were obliged to set about unreeving the studding-sail geer, the topsail-halliards and tackle-falls for that purpose; and the boat was at this time driving to the southward so fast, that it was not before we had veered away two cables, and almost

most all our running-rigging, that she could fetch the buoy.

I was under the necessity of waiting till the strength of the tide should abate, which did not happen till the next morning, when Mr Williamson got on board the ship, and learnt that she had been seven months from Europe, and three from the Cape of Good Hope; that before she sailed, France and Spain had declared war against Great Britain; and that she left Sir Edward Hughes, with a squadron of men of war, and a fleet of East India ships, at the Cape. Mr Williamson having at the same time been informed, that the water at Cracatoa was very good, and always preferred by the Dutch ships to that of Prince's Island, I resolved to rejoin the Resolution at the former place; and a fair breeze springing up, we weighed and stood over toward the island, where we soon after saw her at anchor; but the wind falling, and the tide setting strong against us, I was obliged to drop anchor, at the distance of about five miles from the Resolution, and immediately sent a boat on board, to acquaint Captain Gore with the intelligence we had received.

As soon as the Resolution saw us preparing to come to, she fired her guns, and hoisted an English jack at the ensign staff, the signal at sea to lead a-head. This we afterward understood was intended to prevent our anchoring, on account of the foul ground, which the maps she had on board placed here. However, as we found none, having a muddy bottom, and good holding ground, in sixty fathoms water, we kept fast till the return of the boat, which brought orders to proceed the next morning to Prince's Island. We were at this time two miles distant from the shore; the Peak of Cracatoa bore N.W. by N.; Bantam Point E.N.E. ½ E.; Prince's Island S.W. by W.

The island of Cracatoa is the southernmost of a group situated in the entrance of the Strait of Sunda. It has a high peaked hill on the S. end,[1] which lies in the latitude 6° 9′ S., and longitude 105° 15′ E.; the whole circuit of the island is not more than three leagues. Off the N.E. end lies

[1] The island of Tamarin, or Sambouricon, which lies about four leagues to the north of Cracatoa, may be easily mistaken for the latter, having a hill of nearly the same size and form, situated also near its southern extremity.

lies a small island, which forms the road where the Resolution anchored; and within a reef that runs off the S. end of the latter, there is good shelter against all northerly winds, with eighteen fathoms water near the reef, and twenty-seven in the mid-channel. To the N.W. there is a narrow pass for boats between the two islands.

The shore, which forms the western side of the road, is in a N.W. direction, and has a bank of coral stretching into the sea, about one-third of a cable's length, which makes the landing difficult for boats, except at high water; but the anchoring-ground is very good, and free from rocks. The place where the Resolution watered is a small spring, situated abreast of the S. end of the small island, at a short distance from the water-side. A little to the southward there is a very hot spring, which is used by the natives as a bath. Whilst we were lying off the S. end of this island, we sent a boat, with the master, on shore, to look for water; but, after having landed with some difficulty, he returned unsuccessful.

Cracatoa is esteemed very healthy, in comparison of the neighbouring countries. It consists of high land, rising gradually on all sides from the sea; and the whole is covered with trees, except a few spots which the natives have cleared for rice-fields. The number of people on the island is very inconsiderable. Their chief, as are those of all the other islands in the Strait, is subject to the king of Bantam. The coral reefs afford plenty of small turtles, but other refreshments are very scarce, and sold at an enormous price.

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| Latitude of the road where the Resolution anchored - - - | 8° | 6′ | south. |
| Longitude, by Mr Bayley's timekeeper | 104 | 48 | east. |
| Ditto, by observation - | 105 | 36 | east. |
| Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle - - - | 26 | 3 | |
| Variation of the compass - - | 1 | 0 | west. |

On the full and change days, it is high-water at 7h in the morning. The water rises three feet two inches perpendicular.

At eight o'clock in the evening, it began to blow afresh from the westward, with violent thunder, lightning, and rain; and at three the next morning, we weighed and

 stood

stood over for Prince's Island, but the westerly wind dying away, was succeeded by a breeze from the S.E., and at the same time a strong tide setting to the S.W., prevented our fetching the island, and obliged us, at two in the afternoon, to drop anchor in sixty-five fathoms, over a muddy bottom, at three leagues distance from it; the high hill bearing S.W. by S., and the peak on Cracatoa N. by E. We had light airs and calms till six next morning, when we weighed and made sail, having, in our endeavours to heave the anchor out of the ground, twice broken the old messenger, and afterwards a new one, cut out of our best hawser. This, however, was entirely owing to the wretched state of our cordage; as the strain was not very considerable, and we had besides assisted the cable in coming in, by clapping the cat-tackle on it. The wind continuing fair, at noon we came to an anchor off the S.E. end of Prince's Island, in twenty-six fathoms, over a sandy bottom; the east end of the island bearing N.N.E., the southernmost point in sight S.W. by S., the high peak N.W. ½ W., distant from the nearest shore half a mile.

As soon as we had come to anchor, Lieutenant Lannyon, who had been here before with Captain Cook, in the year 1770, was sent, along with the master, to look for the watering-place. The brook from which, according to the best of his recollection, the Endeavour had been supplied, was found quite salt. Further inland, they saw a dry bed, where the water seemed to have lodged in rainy seasons; and, about a cable's length below, another run, supplied from an extensive pool, the bottom of which, as well as the surface, was covered with dead leaves. This, though a little brackish, being much preferable to the other, we began watering here early the next morning, and finished the same day.

The natives, who came to us soon after we anchored, brought a plentiful supply of large fowls, and some turtles; but the last were, for the most part, very small. In the course of the night we had heavy rain; and on the 14th, at daylight, we saw the Resolution to the northward, standing toward the island; and at two in the afternoon, she dropped anchor close to us. In the course of the day we heeled the ship, and scrubbed and hogged her bottom, which was very foul; and got ready for sea.

The next day, Captain Gore not having completed his

stock of water at Cracatoa, sent his men on shore, who now found the brook that was first mentioned rendered perfectly sweet by the rain, and flowing in great abundance. This being too valuable a treasure to be neglected, I gave orders, that the casks we had filled before should be started, and replenished with the fresh water, which was accordingly done before noon the next day; and in the evening we cleared the decks, and both ships were ready for sea.

In the forenoon of the 18th we had heavy rains and variable winds, which prevented our getting under way till two in the afternoon, when a light wind sprung up from the northward; but this soon after leaving us, we were obliged to drop our anchor again, at eight o'clock that night, in fifty fathoms water, and wait till the same hour the next morning. At that time, being favoured by a breeze from the N.W., we broke ground, to our inexpressible satisfaction, for the last time in the Strait of Sunda, and the next day had entirely lost sight of Prince's Island.

This island having been already described by Captain Cook, in the history of a former voyage, I shall only add, that we were exceedingly struck with the great general resemblance of the natives, both in figure, colour, manners, and even language, to the nations we had been so much conversant with in the South Seas. The effects of the Javanese climate, and I did not escape without my full share of it, made me incapable of pursuing the comparison so minutely as I could have wished.

The country abounds with wood to such a degree, that, notwithstanding the quantity cut down every year by the ships which put into the road, there is no appearance of its diminution. We were well supplied with small turtle, and fowls of a moderate size; the last were sold at the rate of ten for a Spanish dollar. The natives also brought us many hog-deer, and a prodigious number of monkeys, to our great annoyance, as most of our sailors provided themselves with one, if not two, of these troublesome animals.

As we should have met with some difficulty in finding the watering-place, if Mr Lannyon had not been with us, it may be worth while, for the use of future navigators, to describe its situation more particularly. The peaked hill on the island bears from it N.W. by N.; a remarkable tree, growing upon a coral reef, and quite detached from the neighbouring shrubs, stands just to the northward; and

close

close by it there is a small plot of reedy grass, the only piece of the kind that can be seen hereabout. These marks will shew the place where the pool empties itself into the sea; but the water here is generally salt, as well as that which is in the pool. The casks must therefore be filled about fifty yards higher up; where, in dry seasons, the fresh water that comes down from the hills is lost among the leaves, and must be searched for by clearing them away.

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| The latitude of the anchoring-place at Prince's Island was - | 6° | 36′ | 15″ | south. |
| Longitude - - - | 105 | 17 | 30 | east. |
| Dip of the south pole of the magnetic needle - - | 28 | 15 | 0 | |
| Variation of the compass - | 0 | 54 | 0 | west. |
| Mean of the thermometer - | 83 | ½ | | |

From the time of our entering the Strait of Banca, we began to experience the powerful effects of this pestilential climate. Two of our people fell dangerously ill of malignant putrid fevers; which, however, we prevented from spreading, by putting the patients apart from the rest, in the most airy births. Many were attacked with teazing coughs; others complained of violent pains in the head; and even the healthiest among us felt a sensation of suffocating heat, attended by an insufferable languor, and a total loss of appetite. But though our situation was for a time thus uneasy and alarming, we had at last the singular satisfaction of escaping from these fatal seas, without the loss of a single life; a circumstance which was probably owing in part to the vigorous health of the crews, when we first arrived here, as well as to the strict attention, now become habitual in our men, to the salutary regulations introduced amongst us by Captain Cook.

On our leaving Prince's Island, and during the whole time of our run from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, the crew of the Resolution was in a much more sickly state than that of the Discovery; for though many of us continued for some time complaining of the effects of the noxious climate we had left, yet happily we all recovered from them. Of the two who had been ill of fevers, one, after being seized with violent convulsions, on the 12th of February,

February, which made us despair of his life, was relieved by the application of blisters, and was soon after out of danger. The other recovered, but more slowly. On board the Resolution, besides the obstinate coughs and fevers under which they very generally laboured, a great many were afflicted with fluxes, the number of whom, contrary to our expectations, continued increasing till our arrival at the Cape.

Captain Gore attributed this difference in part, and probably with some reason, to the Discovery having her fire-place between decks; the heat and smoke of which, he conceived, might help to mitigate the bad effects of the damp night air. But I am rather inclined to believe, that we escaped the flux by the precautions that were taken to prevent our catching it from others. For if some kinds of fluxes be, as I apprehend there is no doubt they are, contagious, it is not improbable, that the Resolution caught this disorder from the Dutch ships at Cracatoa. In order to avoid this danger, when Mr Williamson was sent to the Indiaman in the entrance of the Strait of Sunda, he had the strictest orders not to suffer any of our people, on any account whatever, to go on board; and whenever we had afterward occasion to have any communication with the Resolution, the same caution was constantly observed.

We were no sooner clear of Prince's Island, than we had a gentle breeze from the W.N.W.; but this did not last long; for the following day the wind became again variable, and continued so till the noon of the 25th, when it grew squally, and blew fresh from the north.

On the 22d at noon, being in latitude 10° 28′ S., and longitude 104° 14′, we saw great quantities of boobies, and other fowls, that seldom go far from land; from which we conjectured, that we were near some small unknown island.

In the evening of the 25th, the wind changed suddenly to the southward, accompanied with heavy rains, and began to blow with great violence. During the night, almost every sail we had bent gave way, and most of them were split to rags; our rigging also suffered materially, and we were, the next day, obliged to bend our last suit of sails, and to knot and splice the rigging, our cordage being all expended. This sudden storm we attributed to the change from the monsoon to the regular trade-wind; our latitude

was

was about 13° 10′ S., and we had made by our reckoning about 4½° of longitude west from Java head.

From the 26th of this month to the 28th of March, we had a regular trade-wind from the S.E. to E by S., with fine weather; and being in an old beaten track, met no occurrence that deserved the smallest notice.

In the morning of the 28th of March, being in latitude 31° 42′ S., and longitude 35° 26′ E., the trade-wind left us in a violent thunder-storm. From this time to the 3d of April, when our latitude was 35° 1′ S., and longitude 26° 3′ E., the winds were moderate, and generally from the south quarter. A fresh breeze then sprung up from the eastward, which continued till the afternoon of the 4th; after which we had a calm that lasted the two following days.

It had hitherto been Captain Gore's intention to proceed directly to St Helena, without stopping at the Cape; but the rudder of the Resolution having been, for some time, complaining, and, on being examined, reported to be in a dangerous state, he resolved to steer immediately for the Cape, as the most eligible place, both for the recovery of his sick, and for procuring a new main piece to the rudder.

From the 21st of March, when we were in latitude 27° 22′ S., longitude 52° 25′ E., to the 5th of April, when we had got into latitude 36° 12′ S., longitude 22° 7′ E., we were strongly affected by the currents, which set to the S.S.W., and S.W. by W., sometimes at the rate of eighty knots a day. On the 6th, having got under the lee of the African coast, we lost them entirely.

In the morning of the 6th, a sail was seen to the S.W. standing toward us; and, as the wind soon after rose from the same quarter, we cleared our ships for action. We now discovered, from the mast-head, five sail more on our lee-bow, standing to the eastward; but the weather coming on hazy, we lost sight of them all in an hour's time. Our latitude at noon was 35° 49′ S., longitude 21° 32′ E. At seven o'clock the next morning (the 7th), we made the land to the northward at a considerable distance.

On the 8th, the weather was squally, and blew fresh from the N.W.; the following day it settled to the W., and we passed pretty close to the sail seen on the 6th, but did not hail her. She was clumsy in figure, and, to appearance, unskilfully managed; yet she outsailed us exceedingly. The colours which she hoisted were different from any we had

had seen; some supposed them to be Portugueze, others Imperial.

At day-light, the next morning, the land again appeared to the N.N.W.; and in the forenoon, a snow was seen bearing down to us, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before, and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us, that, about three weeks before, Mons. Trongoller's squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St Helena, for our East India fleet. This intelligence made us conjecture, that the five sail we had seen standing to the eastward must have been the French squadron, who, in that case, had given over their cruise, and were probably proceeding to the Mauritius. Having informed the packet of our conjectures, and also of the time we understood the China ships were to sail from Canton, we left them, and proceeded toward the Cape.

In the evening of the 10th, the Gunner's Quoin bore N. by E., and False Cape, E.N.E.; but the wind being at S.W., and variable, prevented our getting into False Bay, till the evening of the 12th, when we dropt anchor abreast of Simon's Bay. We found a strong current setting to the westward, round the Cape, which, for some time, we could but just stem, with a breeze that would have carried us four knots an hour. The next morning we stood into Simon's Bay; and at eight came to anchor, and moored a cable each way; the best bower to the E.S.E., and small bower, W.N.W.; the S.E. point of the bay bearing S. by E., Table Mountain, N.E. ½ N.; distant from the nearest shore one-third of a mile. We found lying here, the Nassau and Southampton East-Indiamen, waiting for convoy for Europe. The Resolution saluted the fort with eleven guns, and the same number was returned.

Mr Brandt, the governor of this place, came to visit us, as soon as we had anchored. This gentleman had conceived a great affection for Captain Cook, who had been his constant guest, the many times he had visited the Cape; and though he had received the news of his melancholy fate some time before, he was exceedingly affected at the sight of our ships returning without their old commander. He appeared much surprised to see our crew in so stout and healthy a condition, as the Dutch ship that had left Macao, on

on our arrival there, and had touched at the Cape some time before, reported, that we were in a most wretched state, having only fourteen hands left on board the Resolution, and seven on board the Discovery. It is not easy to conceive the motive these people could have had for propagating so wanton and malicious a falsehood.

On the 15th, I accompanied Captain Gore to Cape Town; and, the next morning, we waited on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, by whom we were received with every possible attention and civility. He had also conceived a great personal affection for Captain Cook, as well as the highest admiration of his character, and heard the recital of his misfortune, with many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the governor's house, he shewed us two pictures, of Van Trump and de Ruyter, with a vacant space left between them, which he said he meant to fill up with the portrait of Captain Cook; and, for that purpose, he requested our assistance when we should arrive in England, in purchasing one for him, at any price.

We were afterward informed by the governor, that all the powers at this time at war with England had given orders to their cruisers to let us pass unmolested. This, as far as related to the French, we had sufficient reason to think true; as Mr Brandt had already delivered to Captain Gore, a letter from Mr Stephens, inclosing a copy of Mons. de Sartine's orders, taken on board the Licorne. With respect to the Americans, the matter still rested on report; but Baron Plettenberg assured us, that he had been expressly told, by the commander of a Spanish ship, which had touched at the Cape, that he, and all the officers of his nation, had received orders to the same effect. These assurances confirmed Captain Gore in the resolution he had taken of maintaining, on his part, a neutral conduct; and accordingly, when on the arrival of the Sybil, to convoy the India ships home, it was proposed to him to accompany them on their passage, he thought proper to decline an offer, the acceptance of which might, in case we had fallen in with any of the enemy's ships, have brought him into a very difficult and embarrassing situation.

During our stay at the Cape, we met with every proof of the most friendly disposition toward us, both in the governor and principal persons of the place, as well Africans as Europeans.

Europeans. At our first arrival, Colonel Gordon, the commander of the Dutch forces, with whom I had the happiness of being on a footing of intimacy and friendship, was absent on a journey into the interior parts of Africa, but returned before our departure. He had, on this occasion, penetrated farther up the country than any other traveller had done before him, and made great additions to the valuable collection of natural curiosities with which he has enriched the museum of the Prince of Orange. Indeed, a long residence at the Cape, and the powerful assistance he has derived from his rank and situation there, joined to an active and indefatigable spirit, and an eager thirst after knowledge, have enabled him to acquire a more intimate and perfect knowledge of this part of Africa, than could have fallen to the lot of any other person; and it is with great pleasure I can congratulate the public on the information I have received of his intentions to give the world, from his own hand, a history of his travels.[3]

False Bay, situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, is frequented by shipping during the prevalence of the N.W. winds, which begin to blow in May, and make it dangerous to lie in Table Bay. It is terminated on the west by the Cape of Good Hope, and on the eastward by False Cape.

The entrance of the bay is six leagues wide, the two capes bearing from each other due east and west. About eleven miles from the Cape of Good Hope, on the west side, is situated Simon's Bay, the only convenient station for ships to lie in; for although the road without it affords good anchorage, it is too open, and but ill circumstanced for procuring necessaries, the town being small, and supplied with provisions from Cape Town, which is about twenty-four miles distant. To the N.N.E. of Simon's Bay, there are several others, from which it may be easily distinguished, by a remarkable sandy way to the northward of the town, which makes a striking object. In steering for the harbour, along the west shore, there is a small flat rock, called Noah's Ark, and about a mile to the north-east of it, several others, called the Roman Rocks. These lie one mile and a half from the anchoring-place; and either between

[3] Query, Was this intention ever realized? The work, supposing it to have been published, was never heard of or seen by the writer.—E.

tween them, or to the northward of the Roman Rocks, there is a safe passage into the bay. When the north-west gales are set in, the following bearings will direct the mariner to a safe and commodious berth: Noah's Ark, S. 51° E., and the centre of the hospital, S. 53° W., in seven fathoms. But if the south-east winds have not done blowing, it is better to stay further out in eight or nine fathoms. The bottom is sandy, and the anchors settle considerably before they get hold. All the north part of the bay is low sandy land, but the east side is very high. About six miles east of Noah's Ark lies Seal Island, the south part of which is said to be dangerous, and not to be approached, with safety, nearer than in twenty-two fathoms. Off the Cape of Good Hope are many sunk rocks, some of which appear at low water; and others have breakers constantly on them.

| | |
|---|---|
| The latitude of the anchoring-place in Simon's Bay, by observation - - - - | 34° 20′ S. |
| The longitude - - - - - | 18 29 E. |
| Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle | 46 47 |
| Variation of the compass - - - | 22 16 W. |

On the full and change days, it was high-water at $5^h\ 55^m$ apparent time; the tide rose and fell five feet five inches; at the neap tides, it rose four feet one inch.

From the observations taken by Mr Bayley and myself, on the 11th of this month, when the Cape of Good Hope bore due west, we found its latitude to be 34° 23′ S., which is 4′ to the northward of its position, as determined by the Abbé de la Caille.

Having completed our victualling, and furnished ourselves with the necessary supply of naval stores, we sailed out of the bay on the 9th of May, and on the 14th, we got into the south-east trade-wind, and steered to the westward of the islands of St Helena and Ascension. On the 31st, being in latitude 12° 48′ S., longitude 15° 40′ W., the magnetic needle was found to have no dip.

On the 12th of June, we passed the equator for the fourth time during this voyage, in longitude 26° 16′ W. We now began to perceive the effects of a current setting N. by E., half a knot an hour. It continued in this direction till the middle of July, when it began to set a little to the southward of the west.

On

On the 12th of August, we made the western coast of Ireland, and after a fruitless attempt to get into Port Galway, from whence it was Captain Gore's intentions to have sent the journals and maps of our voyage to London, we were obliged, by strong southerly winds, to steer to the northward. Our next object was to put into Lough Swilly; but the wind continuing in the same quarter, we stood on to the northward of Lewis Island; and on the 22d of August, at eleven in the morning, both ships came to an anchor at Stromness. From hence, I was dispatched by Captain Gore, to acquaint the Board of Admiralty with our arrival; and on the 4th day of October the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

On quitting the Discovery at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the same time, the number of convalescents on board the Resolution did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England; the Discovery did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations established by Captain Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. But the baneful effects of salt provisions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithstanding these salutary precautions, if we had not assisted them, by availing ourselves of every substitute, our situation at various times afforded. These frequently consisting of articles, which our people had not been used to consider as food for men, and being sometimes exceedingly nauseous, it required the joint aid of persuasion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and disgusts.

The preventives we principally relied on were sour krout and portable soup. As to the antiscorbutic remedies, with which we were amply supplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the slightest symptoms of the scurvy, in either ship, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had also been kept as a resource, in case of actual sickness; and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely spoiled. About the

the same time, were opened some casks of biscuit, flour, malt, pease, oatmeal, and groats, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in small casks, lined with tin-frail, and found all, except the pease, in a much better state, than could have been expected in the usual manner of package.

I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the consideration of government, the necessity of allowing a sufficient quantity of Peruvian bark, to such of his majesty's ships as may be exposed to the influence of unwholesome climates. It happened very fortunately in the Discovery, that only one of the men that had fevers in the Straits of Sunda, stood in need of this medicine, as he alone consumed the whole quantity usually carried out by surgeons, in such vessels as ours. Had more been affected in the same manner, they would probably all have perished, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumstance attending this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews, was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the first time, to an accident that happened to the Discovery off the coast of Owhyhee; and the second, to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatska Bay. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs.

VOCABULARY

# VOCABULARY

OF

## THE LANGUAGE OF NOOTKA,

OR

## KING GEORGE'S SOUND.

*April*, 1778.

---

| *Nootka.* | English. |
|---|---|
| Opulszthl, - - | *The sun.* |
| Onulszthl, - - | *The moon.* |
| Nas, *or* eenaeehl nas, - | *The sky.* |
| Noohchai, - - | *A mountain*, or *hill.* |
| Mooksee, - - | *Rocks*, or *the shore.* |
| Tanass, *or* tanas, - | *A man.* |
| Oonook, - - | *A song.* |
| Eeneek, *or* eleek, - | *Fire.* |
| Nuhchee, *or* nookchee - | *The land; a country.* |
| Koassama, - - | *The ground.* |
| Mahtai, - - | *A house.* |
| Neit, *or* neet, - - | *A candle*, or *lamp light.* |
| Neetopok, - - | *The smoke of a lamp.* |
| Tassyai, - - | *A door.* |
| Ai, *and* aio, - | *Yes.* |
| Wook, *or* Wik, - | *No.* |
| Wik ait, - - | *None, not any.* |
| Macook, - - | *To barter.* |
| Kaeeemai, *or* kyomai, - | *Give me some more of it.* |
| Kootche, *or* kotche - | *To paddle.* |

Aook,

| Nootka. | English. |
| --- | --- |
| Aook, *or* chiamis, - | *To eat, to chew.* |
| Topalszthl, *or* toopilszthl, | *The sea.* |
| Oowhabbe, - - | *A paddle.* |
| Shapata, *or* shapitz, *or* chapas, - - | *A canoe.* |
| Tawailuck, - - | *White bugle beads.* |
| Seekemaile, - | *Iron,* or *metal of any sort.* |
| Ahkoo, *or* ahko, - | *This.* |
| Kaa, *or* kaa chelle, - | *Give it me, let me look at it,* or *examine it?* |
| Wook hak - - | *Will he not do it?* |
| Ma, *or* maa, - - | *Take it.* |
| Chakeuk, - - | *A hatchet,* or *hacking tool.* |
| Eetche, *or* abeesh, - | *Displeasure.* |
| Hahoome, *or* haooma, - | *Food.* |
| Takho, - - | *Bad. This iron is bad,* takho seekemaile. |
| Chelle, - - | *I, me.* |
| Kaeeo, - - | *Broken.* |
| Alle, *or* alla, - - | (Speaking to one) *Friend; hark ye.* |
| Klao appe, *or* klao, - | *Keep it; I'll not have it.* |
| Asko, - - | *Long,* or *large.* |
| Iakooeshmaish, - | *Clothing in general.* |
| Tahquoe, *or* toohquoe, - | *A metal button,* or *ear-ring.* |
| Wae, - - | (Calling to one, perhaps) *you!* |
| Weekeetateesh, - | *Sparkling sand, which they sprinkle on their faces.* |
| Chauk, - - | *Water.* |
| Pacheetl, *or* pachatl, - | *To give; give me.* |
| Haweelsth, *or* hawalth, - | *Friendship; friend.* |
| Kleeseetl, - - | *To paint,* or *mark with a pencil.* |
| Abeetzle, - - | *To go away,* or *depart.* |
| Sheesookto, - - | *To remain,* or *abide.* |
| Seeaik, - - | *A stone weapon, with a square point.* |
| Suhyaik, - - | *A spear, pointed with bone.* |
| Taak, - - | *The wood of the depending pine.* |
| Luksheer, *or* luksheetl, - | *To drink.* |
| Soochis, - - | *A tree, a wood.* |

Haieeaipt,

| *Nootka.* | English. |
|---|---|
| Haieeaipt, - - | *A broad leaf, shrub,* or *under-wood.* |
| Tohumbeet, - - | *Variegated pine; silver pine.* |
| Atheu, - - | *The depending pine;* or *cy-press.* |
| Koeeklipt, - - | *The Canadian pine.* |
| Cho, - - | *Go.* |
| Sateu, - - | *A pine-top.* |
| Kleeteenek, - | *The little cloak that they wear.* |
| Kleethak, - - | *A bear's skin.* |
| Klochimme, - - | *Muscles.* |
| Ohkullik, - - | *A wooden box they hold things in.* |
| Hislaiakasl, *or* slaikalzth, - | *Coarse mats of bark.* |
| Eesee, - - | *An instrument of bone to beat bark.* |
| Chapuz koole, - - | *The model of a canoe.* |
| Klapatuketeel, - | *A bag made of mat.* |
| Tahmis, - - | *To spit; spittle.* |
| Wasuksheet, - | *To cough.* |
| Poop, - - | *Common moss.* |
| Okumha, - - | *The wind.* |
| Chutzquabeelsl, - | *A bag made of seal skin.* |
| Konneeemis, - | *A kind of sea weed.* |
| Quaookl, *or* tookpeetl, - | *To sit down.* |
| Klukeeszthl, *or* quoeelszthl, | *To rise up.* |
| Tsookeeats, - - | *To walk.* |
| Kummutchchutl, - | *To run.* |
| Klutsklaee, - - | *To strike,* or *beat.* |
| Teeshcheetl, - | *To throw a stone.* |
| Teelszhtee, - - | *To rub,* or *sharpen metal.* |
| Tsook, - - | *To cleave,* or *strike hard.* |
| Mahkatte, - - | *A small liliaceous root, which they eat.* |
| Eumahtame, - - | *Fur of a sea-otter.* |
| Cheemaine, - - | *Their largest fishing-hooks.* |
| Moostatte, - - | *A bow.* |
| Kahsheetl, - - | *Dead.* |
| Kleeshsheetl, - | *To shoot with a bow.* |
| Tseehattee, - - | *An arrow.* |
| Katshak, - - | *A flaxen garment, worn as their common dress.* |

Heshcheene,

| Nootka. | English. |
|---|---|
| Heshcheene, - | *A plain* Venus *shell.* |
| Koohminne, - | *A bag rattle.* |
| Akeeuk, - - | *A plain bone point for striking seals with.* |
| Kaheita, - - | *A barbed bone point for ditto.* |
| Cheetakulheiwha, - | *Bracelets of white bugle beads.* |
| Mittemulszth, - | *Thongs of skin worn about the wrist and neck.* |
| Iaiopox, - - | *Pieces of copper worn in the ear.* |
| Neesksheetl, - | *To sneeze.* |
| Suchkas, - - | *A comb.* |
| Seehl, - - | *Small feathers which they strew on their heads.* |
| Wamuhte, - - | *Twisted thongs and sinews, worn about their ankles.* |
| Kutseeoataia, - | *Veins under the skin.* |
| Tookquuk, - - | *The skin.* |
| Muszthsle, - - | *Pain.* |
| Waeetch, - - | *To sleep.* |
| Siksaimaha, - | *To breathe,* or *pant.* |
| Tuhsheetl, - | *To weep.* |
| Matskoot, - - | *A fly.* |
| Matook, - - | *To fly.* |
| Kooees, *or* quoees, - | *Snow,* or *hail.* |
| Aopk, - - | *To whistle.* |
| Asheeatksheetl, - | *To yawn.* |
| Elsthltleek, - - | *An instrument of two sticks standing from each other with barbs.* |
| Cheeeeakis, - - | *A scar of a wound.* |
| Tchoo, - - | *Throw it down,* or *to me.* |
| Cheetkoohekai, *or* Cheetkoaik, - - | *A wooden instrument, with many bone teeth, to catch small fish with.* |
| Kaenne, *or* Koenai, - | *A crow ; a bird.* |
| Keesapa, - - | *A fish ; a white bream.* |
| Klaamoo, - - | *A bream striped with blue and gold colours.* |
| Taaweesh, *or* Tsuskeeah, | *A stone-weapon,* or *tomahawk; with a wooden handle.* |

| *Nootka.* | English. |
|---|---|
| Kamaisthlik, - - | *A kind of snare to catch fish, or other animals with.* |
| Klahma, - - | *Wing feathers of a red bird.* |
| Seetsaennuk, - - | *Anger; scolding.* |
| Heeeai, *or* Heeeee, - | *A brown streaked snake.* |
| Klapissime, - - | *A racoon.* |
| Owatinne, - - | *A white-headed eagle.* |
| Kluhmiss, - - | *Train oil; a bladder filled with it.* |
| Oukkooma, - - | *Large carved wooden faces.* |
| Kotyook, *or* Hotyok, - | *A knife.* |
| See eema, - - | *A fishing-net.* |
| Weena, - - | *A stranger.* |
| Quahmiss, - - | *Fish-roe strewed upon pine-branches and sea-weed.* |
| Kaatl, - - | *Give me.* |
| Hooksquaboolsthl, - | *A whale-harpoon and rope.* |
| Komook, - - | *Chimæra monstrosa.* |
| Quotluk, *or* Quotlukac, - | *A sea-otter's skin.* |
| Maaṣenusthl, - - | *An oblong wooden weapon, two feet long.* |
| Hokooma, - - | *A wooden mask of the human face.* |
| Tooquacumilsthl, - | *A seal-skin.* |
| Cha, - - | *Let me see it.* |
| Sooma, - - | *A kind of haddock, of a reddish brown colour.* |
| Aeea, - - | *A sardine.* |
| Koeetsak, - - | *A wolf-skin dress.* |
| Keepsleetokszl, - | *A woollen garment.* |
| Isseu, - - | *Pine-bark.* |
| Wanshee, - - | *Wild cat skin* (lynx brunneus). |
| Chastimmetz, - | *A common, and also pine-martin.* |
| Ookoomillszthl, - | *A little round wooden cup.* |
| Koomitz, - - | *A human skull.* |
| Keehlwahmoot, - | *A skin-bladder used in fishing.* |
| Tseeapoox, - - | *A conic cap made of mat, worn on the head.* |
| Summeto, - - | *A squirrel; they also called a rat by this name.* |
| Maalszthl, - - | *A deer's horn.* |

| *Nootka.* | English. |
|---|---|
| Jakops, - - | *A man,* or *male.* |
| Kolsheetl, *or* Kolsheat, | *To sup with a spoon.* |
| Achatla, *or* Achaklak, - | *What is your name?* |
| Achatlaha, - - | *What is his name?* |
| Akassheba, *or* Akassche, | *What is the name of that?* |
| Haismussik, - - | *A wooden sabre.* |
| Maeetsalulsthl, - - | *A bone-weapon, like the* Patoo. |
| Kookelixo, - - | *A fish-fin; the hand.* |
| Natcha, - - | *A fish-tail.* |
| Klihkleek, - - | *The hoof of an animal.* |
| Klaklasm, - - | *A bracelet.* |
| Ko, - - | *An article, to give strength of expression to another word.* |
| Nahei, *or* Naheis, - | *Friendship.* |
| Teelsthoop, - | *A large cuttle-fish.* |
| Pachas, - - | *He gave it me.* |
| Quaeeaitsaak, - | *A yellow,* or *red fox.* |
| Atchakoe, - - | *A limpet.* |
| Aheita, - - | *A sweet fern-root they eat.* |
| Kishkilltup, - - | *The strawberry plant.* |
| Akhmupt, - - | *A narrow grass that grows on the rocks.* |
| Klaiwahmiss, - - | *A cloud.* |
| Mollsthapait, - - | *A feather.* |
| Taeetcha, - - | *Full, satisfied with eating.* |
| Kaaitz, - - | *A necklace of small* volute *shells.* |
| Tahooquossim, - | *A carved human head of wood, decorated with hair.* |
| Moowatche, - - | *A carved wooden vizor, like the head of a Quebrentahuessos.* |
| Mamat, - - | *A black linnet with a white bill.* |
| Klaokotl, - - | *Give me something.* |
| Pallszthpatl, - - | *Glimmer (sheet).* |
| Pineetl, - - | *The name they apply to a goat; probably of a deer.* |
| Seeta, - - | *The tail of an animal.* |
| Seehsheetl, - - | *To kill.* |
| Ooolszth, - - | *A sandpiper.* |

Saeemitz,

| *Nootka.* | English. |
| --- | --- |
| Saeemitz, - - | *Chequered straw-baskets.* |
| Chookwak, - - | *To go up,* or *away.* |
| Kloosasht, - - | *Smoked herrings.* |
| Keetsma, - - | *Puncturation.* |
| Mikeellzyth, - - | *To fasten,* or *tie a thing.* |
| Cheeteeakamilzsth, - | *White beads.* |
| Kakkumipt, - - | *A sea-weed,* or *grass, on which they strew fish-roe.* |
| Eissuk, - - | *A sort of leek ;* allium triquetrum. |
| Kutskushilzsth, - | *To tear a thing.* |
| Mitzsleo, - - | *A knot.* |
| Mamakeeo, - - | *To tie a knot.* |
| Kluksilzsth, - - | *To loosen,* or *untie.* |
| Klakaikom, - - | *The leaf of a plant.* |
| Sasinne, *or* sasin, - | *A humming-bird.* |
| Koohquoppa, - - | *A granulated lily-root they eat.* |
| Seeweebt, - - | *Alder-tree.* |
| Kaweebt, - - | *Raspberry-bush.* |
| Kleehseep, - - | *The flower of a plant.* |
| Klumma, - - | *Large wooden images placed at one end of their houses.* |
| Aiahtoop, *or* Aiahtoopsh, | *A porpoise.* |
| Toshko, - - | *A small brown spotted cod.* |
| Aszlimupt, *or* Ulszthimipt, | *Flaxen stuff, of which they make their garments.* |
| Wakash, - - | *An expression of approbation,* or *friendship.* |
| Kullekeea, - - | *Troughs out of which they eat.* |
| Kaots, - - | *A twig-basket.* |
| Sllook, - - | *The roof of a house ; boards.* |
| Eilszthmukt, - | *Nettles.* |
| Koeeklass, - - | *A wooden stage,* or *frame, on which the fish-roe is dried.* |
| Matlieu, - - | *A withe of bark for fastening planks.* |
| Nahass, - - | *A circular hole that serves as a window.* |
| Neetsoanimme, - | *Large planks of which their houses are built.* |
| Chaipma, - - | *Straw.* |

Haquanuk,

| *Nootka.* | English. |
|---|---|
| Haquanuk, - - | *A chest*, or *large box.* |
| Chahkots, - - | *A square wooden bucket, to hold water.* |
| Chahquanna, - - | *A square wooden drinking-cup.* |
| Klennut, - - | *A wooden wedge.* |
| Kolkolsainum, - | *A large chest.* |
| Klieutsunnim, - - | *A board to kneel on when they paddle.* |
| Tseelszthook, - - | *A frame of square poles.* |
| Aminulszth, - - | *A fish.* |
| Natckkoa *and* Matseeta, - | *The particular names of two of the monstrous images called Klumma.* |
| Houa, - - | *To go that way.* |
| Achichil, - - | *What does he say?* |
| Aeek, - - | *The oval part of a whale dart.* |
| Aptsheetl, - - | *To steal.* |
| Quoeeup, - - | *To break.* |
| Uhshsapai, - | *To pull.* |
| Tseehka, - | *A general song.* |
| Apte, *or* appe, - - | *You.* |
| Kai, - - | *Thanks.* |
| Kotl, - - | *Me; I.* |
| Punihpunih, - - | *A black beating stone.* |
| Nootka, - - | *The name of the bay* or *sound.* |
| Yatseenequoppe, Kakallakeeheelook, Nololokum, - | *The names of three men.* |
| Satsuhcheek, - - | *The name of a woman.* |

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NAMES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BODY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ooomitz, - - | *The head.* |
| Apsoop, - - - | *The hair of the head.* |
| Uhpeukel, *or* upuppea, - | *The forehead.* |
| Cheecheetsh, - - | *The teeth.* |
| Choop, - - | *The tongue.* |

Kussee,

| *Nooka.* | *English.* |
|---|---|
| Kussee, *or* kassee, - - | *The eye.* |
| Neets, - - | *The nose.* |
| Papai, - - - | *The ear.* |
| Aamiss, - - - | *The cheek.* |
| Eehthlux, - - | *The chin.* |
| Apuxim, - - - | *The beard.* |
| Tseekoomitz, - - | *The neck.* |
| Seekutz, - - | *The throat.* |
| Eslulszth, - - | *The face.* |
| Eethluxooth, - - | *The lips.* |
| Klooshkcoah, klah, tamai, | *The nostrils.* |
| Aeetchse, - - | *The eye-brows.* |
| Aapso, - - | *The arm.* |
| Aapsoonilk, - - - | *The arm-pit.* |
| Eneema, - - | *The nipple.* |
| Kooquainux, *or* Kooquainuxoo, | *The fingers.* |
| Chushehuh, - - - | *Nail of the finger.* |
| Kleashklinno, - - | *The thighs and leg.* |
| Klahtimme, - - | *The foot.* |
| Alahkomeetz, - - | *The thumb.* |
| Kopeeak, - - | *The fore finger.* |
| Taeeai, - - | *The middle finger.* |
| Oatso, *or* akhukluc, - | *The ring finger.* |
| Kasleka, - - | *The little finger.* |

TABLE

*TABLE to shew the Affinity between the Languages spoken at Oonalashka and Norton Sound, and those of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux.*

| English. | *Oonalashka.* | *Norton Sound.* | *Greenland. From Crantz.* | *Esquimaux.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *A man* | Chengan | | Angut. | |
| *A woman* | Anagogenach. | | | |
| *The head* | Kameak | | | Ne-aw-cock. |
| *The hair* | Emelach | Nooit | | Newrock. |
| *The eye-brow* | Kamlik | Kameluk | | Coup-loot. |
| *The eye* | Dhac | Enga | | Ehich. |
| *The nose* | Anosche | Ngha | | Cring-yauk. |
| *The cheek* | Oolooeik | Oollooak | | Ou-lu-uck-cur. |
| *The ear* | Tootoosh | Shudeka | | Se-u-teck. |
| *The lip* | Adhee | Hashlaw | | |
| *The teeth* | Agaloo. | | | |
| *The tongue* | Agonoc. | | | |
| *The beard* | Engelagoong | Oongai. | | |
| *The chin* | Ismaloch | Tamluk | | Taplou. |
| *The neck* | Ooioc | | | Coon-e-soke. |
| *The breast* | Shimsen | | | Suk-ke-uck. |
| *The arm* | Toolak | Dallek | | Telluck. |
| *The hand* | Kedhachoonge | Aishet | | Alguit. |
| *The finger* | Atooch. | | | |
| *The nails* | Cagelch | Shetooe. | | |
| *The thigh* | Cachemac | Kookdoshac. | | |
| *The leg* | Ketac | Kanaiak | | Ki-naw-auk. |
| *The foot* | Ooleac | Etscheak | | E-te-ket. |
| *The sun* | Agadac | Maje | | Suck-ki-much. |
| *The moon* | Toogedha | | | Tac-cock. |
| *The sky* | Enacac. | | | |
| *A cloud* | Aiengich. | | | |
| *The wind* | Caitchee. | | | |
| *The sea* | Alaooch | Emai | | Ut-koo-tuk-les. |
| *Water* | Tangch | Mooe. | | |
| *Fire* | Keiganach | | | E-ko-ma. |
| *Wood* | Hearach. | | | |
| *A knife* | Kamelac. | | | |
| *A house* | Oolac | | Iglo | Tope-uck. |
| *A canoe* | Eakeac | Caiac | Kaiak | Kirock. |
| *A paddle* | Chasec | Pangehon | Pautik | Pow. |
| *Iron* | Comeleuch | Shawik | | Shaveck. |
| *A bow* | Seiech | | | Petick sic. |
| *Arrows* | Agadhok | | | Caukjuck. |
| *Darts* | Ogwalook | | Aglikak. | |
| *A fish-hook* | Oochtac. | | | |

No

| English. | *Oonalashka.* | *Norton Sound.* | *Greenland. From Crantz.* | *Esquimaux.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *No* | Net | Ena | Nag. | |
| *Yes*, or *yea* | Ah | Eh | Illisve. | |
| *One* | Taradac | Adowjak | Attousek | Attouset. |
| *Two* | Alac | Aiba | Arlak | Mardluk. |
| *Three* | Canoogn | Pingashook | Pingaguah | Pingasut. |
| *Four* | Sechn | Shetamik | Sissamat | Sissamat. |
| *Five* | Chang | Dallamix | Tellimat | Tellimat. |
| *Six* | Atoo | *In counting more than five, they repeat the same words over again.* | | Arbanget. |
| *Seven* | Ooloo | | | Arbanget Attausek. |
| *Eight* | Kamching | | | Arbanget mardik |
| *Nine* | Seching | | | Kollin illoet. |
| *Ten* | Hasc | | | Kollit. |

# APPENDIX

TO

# THE CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS.

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## No. I.

## NARRATIVE

OF

## THE HON. JOHN BYRON;

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE SHIPWRECK

OF

## THE WAGER;

AND THE SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES

## OF HER CREW.

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*WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.*

# APPENDIX

TO THE

# CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS.

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## No. I.

## THE NARRATIVE

OF THE

HON. JOHN BYRON.

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## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

As the greatest pain I feel in committing the following sheets to the press, arises from an apprehension that many of my readers will accuse me of egotism, I will not incur that charge in my preface, by detaining them with the reasons which have induced me, at this time, to yield to the desire of my friends. It is equally indifferent to the public to be told how it happened, that nothing should have got the better of my indolence and reluctance to comply with the same requests, for the space of twenty years.

I will employ these few introductory pages merely to shew what pretensions this work may have to the notice of the world, after those publications which have preceded it.

It is well known that the Wager, one of Lord Anson's squadron, was cast away upon a desolate island in the South-seas. The subject of this book is a relation of the extraordinary difficulties and hardships through which, by the assistance of Divine Providence, a small part of her crew escaped to their native land; and a very small proportion of

of those made their way, in a new and unheard-of manner, over a large and desert tract of land, between the western mouth of Magellanic Streight and the capital of Chili; a country scarce to be paralleled in any part of the globe, in that it affords neither fruits, grain, nor even roots proper for the sustenance of man; and, what is still more rare, the very sea, which yields a plentiful support to many a barren coast, on this tempestuous and inhospitable shore is found to be almost as barren as the land; and it must be confessed, that to those who cannot interest themselves with seeing human nature labouring, from day to day, to preserve its existence under the continual want of such real necessaries, as food and shelter from the most rigorous climate, the following sheets will afford but little entertainment.

Yet, after all, it must be allowed there can be no other way of ascertaining the geography and natural history of a country, which is altogether morass and a rock, incapable of products or culture, than by setting down every minute circumstance which was observed in traversing it. The same may be said of the inhabitants, their manners, religion, and language. What fruits could an European reap from a more intimate acquaintance with them, than what he will find in the following accidental observations? We saw the most unprofitable spot on the globe of the earth, and such it is described and ascertained to be.

It is to be hoped, some little amends may be made by such an insight as is given into the interior part of the country; and I find what I have put down has had the good fortune to be pleasing to some of my friends; insomuch, that the only fault I have yet had laid to my papers is, that of being too short in the article of the Spanish settlements. But here I must say, I have been dubious of the partiality of my friends; and, as I think, justly fearful lest the world in general, who may perhaps find compassion and indulgence for a protracted tale of distress, may not give the same allowance to a luxurious imagination triumphing in a change of fortune, and sudden transition from the most dismal to the gayest scenes in the universe, and thereby indulging an egotism equally offensive to the envious and censorious.

I speak as briefly as possible of matters previous to our final separation from the rest of Lord Anson's squadron; for it is from this epocha that the train of our misfortunes properly

properly commences: and though Mr Bulkeley, one of the warrant officers of the Wager, has, long since, published a Journal and Account of the return of that part of the ship's company, which, dissenting from Captain Cheap's propoposal of endeavouring to regain their native country by way of the great continent of South America, took their passage home in the long-boat, through the Streights of Magellan, our transactions during our abode on the island have been related by him in so concise a manner, as to leave many particulars unnoticed, and others touched so slightly, that they appear evidently to have been put together with the purpose of justifying those proceedings which could not be considered in any other light than that of direct mutiny. Accordingly, we find that the main substance of his Journal is employed in scrutinizing the conduct of Captain Cheap, and setting forth the conferences which passed between him and the seceders, relative to the way and measures they were to take for their return home. I have, therefore, taken some pains to review those early passages of the unfortunate scene I am to represent, and to enter into a detail, without which no sound judgment can be formed of any disputed point, especially when it has been carried so far as to end in personal resentment. When contests and dissensions shall be found to have gone that length, it will be obvious to every reader, why a licentious crew should hearken to any factious leader, rather than to the solidity of their captain's advice, who made it evident to every unprejudiced understanding, that their fairest chance for safety and a better fortune, was to proceed with the long-boat till they should make prize of some vessel of the enemy, and thereby be enabled to bring to the commodore a supply of stout fellows to assist in his conquests, and share in the honour and rewards.

And yet it is but justice, even to this ungovernable herd, to explain, that though, as I have said above, they appeared in the light of mutineers, they were not actually such in the eye of the law; for, till a subsequent act, made indeed on this occasion, the pay of a ship's crew ceased immediately upon her wreck, and consequently the officers' authority and command.

Having explained the foregoing particulars, I hope I may flatter myself, there are few things in the following sheets which will not be readily understood by the greatest

part

part of my readers; therefore I will not detain them any longer.[1]

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## CHAPTER I.

*Account of the Wager and her Equipment.—Captain Kid's Death.—Succeeded by Captain Cheap.—Our Disasters commence with our Voyage.—We lose Sight of our Squadron in a Gale of Wind.—Dreadful Storm.—Ship strikes.*

THE equipment and destination of the squadron fitted out in the year 1740, of which Commodore Anson had the command, being sufficiently known from the ample and well-penned relation of it under his direction, I shall recite no particulars that are to be found in that work. But it may be necessary, for the better understanding the disastrous fate of the Wager, the subject of the following sheets, to repeat the remark, that a strange infatuation seemed to prevail in the whole conduct of this embarkation: For though it was unaccountably detained till the season for its sailing was past, no proper use was made of that time, which should have been employed in providing a suitable force of sailors and soldiery; nor was there a due attention given to other requisites for so peculiar and extensive a destination.

This neglect not only rendered the expedition abortive in its principal object, but most materially affected the condition of each particular ship, and none so fatally as the Wager, who being an old Indiaman, bought into the service upon this occasion, was now fitted out as a man of war: But being made to serve as a store-ship, was deeply laden with

[1] Bulkeley's narrative above referred to, and which certainly deserves to be better known than it now is, will be found in this Appendix, No. 2. The impartial reader, it is believed, will hesitate to join with Byron in opinion as to the motives which occasioned its publication; nor is it unimportant for him to recollect, that Byron himself at one time sanctioned the chief measures and sentiments which Bulkeley and his associates adopted.—E.

with all kinds of careening geer, military, and other stores, for the use of the other ships; and what is more, crowded with bale-goods, and incumbered with merchandize. A ship of this quality and condition could not be expected to work with that readiness and ease which was necessary for her security and preservation in those heavy seas which she was to encounter. Her crew consisted of men pressed from long voyages to be sent upon a distant and hazardous service; on the other hand, all her land-forces were no more than a poor detachment of infirm and decrepid invalids from Chelsea hospital, desponding under the apprehensions of a long voyage. It is not then to be wondered, that Captain Kid, under whose command this ship sailed out of the port, should in his last moments presage her ill success, though nothing very material happened during his command.

At his death he was succeeded by Captain Cheap, who still, without any accident, kept company with the squadron till we had almost gained the southernmost mouth of Straits Le Maire; when, being the sternmost ship, we were, by the sudden shifting of the wind to the southward, and the turn of the tide, very near being wrecked upon the rocks of Staten Land; which, notwithstanding, having weathered, contrary to the expectation of the rest of the squadron, we endeavoured all in our power to make up our lost way, and regain our station. This we effected, and proceeded in our voyage, keeping company with the rest of the ships for some time, when by a great roll of a hollow sea we carried away our mizen-mast, all the chain-plates to windward being broken. Soon after, hard gales at west coming on with a prodigious swell, there broke a heavy sea in upon the ship, which stove our boats, and filled us for some time.

These accidents were the more disheartening, as our carpenter was on board the Gloucester, and detained there by the incessant tempestuous weather, and a sea impracticable for boats. In a few days he returned, and supplied the loss of a mizen-mast by a lower studding-sail boom; but this expedient, together with the patching up of our rigging, was a poor temporary relief to us. We were soon obliged to cut away our best bower-anchor to ease the fore-mast, the shrouds and chain-plates of which were all broken, and the ship in all parts in a most crazy condition.

Thus shattered and disabled, a single ship, (for we had

now

now lost sight of our squadron) we had the additional mortification to find ourselves bearing for the land on our lee-shore, having thus far persevered in the course we held, from an error in conjecture: For the weather was unfavourable for observation, and there are no charts of that part of the coast. When those officers who first perceived their mistake endeavoured to persuade the captain to alter his course, and bear away, for the greater surety, to the westward, he persisted in making directly, as he thought, for the island of Socoro; and to such as dared from time to time to deliver their doubts of being entangled with the land stretching to the westward, he replied, That he thought himself in no case at liberty to deviate from his orders, and that the absence of his ship from the first place of rendezvous would entirely frustrate the whole squadron in the first object of their attack, and possibly decide upon the fortune of the whole expedition. For the better understanding the force of his reasoning, it is necessary to explain, that the island of Socoro is in the neighbourhood of Baldivia, the capture of which place could not be effected without the junction of that ship, which carried the ordnance and military stores.

The knowledge of the great importance of giving so early and unexpected a blow to the Spaniards, determined the captain to make the shortest way to the point in view; and that rigid adherence to orders, from which he thought himself in no case at liberty to depart, begot in him a stubborn defiance of all difficulties, and took away from him those apprehensions which so justly alarmed all such as, from ignorance of the orders, had nothing present to their minds but the dangers of a lee-shore.[a]

We

[a] Captain Cheap has been suspected of a design of going on the Spanish coast without the commodore; but no part of his conduct seems to authorize, in the least, such a suspicion. The author who brings this heavy charge against him, is equally mistaken in imagining that Captain Cheap had not instructions to sail to this island, and that the commodore did neither go nor send thither to inform himself if any of the squadron were there. This appears from the orders delivered to the captains of the squadron the day before they sailed from St Catherine's (L. Anson's Voyage, vol. xi, p. 267,); from the orders of the council on board the Centurion in the bay of St Julian, (p. 276,) and from the conduct of the commodore, (p. 305,) who cruized (with the utmost hazard) more than a fortnight off the island of Socoro, and along the coast in its neighbourhood. It was the second rendezvous at Baldivia, and not that at Socoro, that the commodore was forced by necessity to neglect.

We had for some time been sensible of our approach to the land, from no other token than those of weeds and birds, which are the usual indications of nearing the coast; but at length we had an imperfect view of an eminence, which we conjectured to be one of the mountains of the Cordilleras. This, however, was not so distinctly seen, but that many conceived it to be the effect of imagination; but if the captain was persuaded of the nearness of our danger, it was now too late to remedy it; for at this time the straps of the fore jeer blocks breaking, the fore-yard came down, and the greatest part of the men being disabled through fatigue and sickness, it was some time before it could be got up again. The few hands who were employed in this business now plainly saw the land on the larboard beam, bearing N. W., upon which the ship was driving bodily. Orders were then given immediately by the captain to sway the fore-yard up, and set the foresail; which done, we wore ship with her head to the southward, and endeavoured to crowd her off from the land; but the weather, from being exceedingly tempestuous, blowing now a perfect hurricane, and right in upon the shore, rendered our endeavours (for we were now only twelve hands fit for duty) entirely fruitless. The night came on, dreadful beyond description, in which, attempting to throw out our topsails to claw off the shore, they were immediately blown from the yards.

In the morning, about four o'clock, the ship struck. The shock we received upon this occasion, though very great, being not unlike a blow of a heavy sea, such as in the series of preceding storms we had often experienced, was taken for the same; but we were soon undeceived by her striking more violently than before, which laid her upon her beam-ends, the sea making a fair breach over her. Every person that now could stir was presently upon the quarter-deck; and many even of those were alert upon this occasion that had not shewed their faces upon deck for above two months before: Several poor wretches, who were in the last stage of the scurvy, and who could not get out of their hammocks, were immediately drowned.

In this dreadful situation she lay for some little time, every soul on board looking upon the present minute as his last, for there was nothing to be seen but breakers all around us. However, a mountainous sea hove her off from

thence; but she presently struck again, and broke her tiller. In this terrifying and critical juncture, to have observed all the various modes of horror operating according to the several characters and complexions amongst us, it was necessary that the observer himself should have been free from all impressions of danger. Instances there were, however, of behaviour so very remarkable, they could not escape the notice of any one who was not entirely bereaved of his senses; for some were in this condition to all intents and purposes; particularly one, in the ravings despair brought upon him, was seen stalking about the deck flourishing a cutlass over his head, and calling himself king of the country, and striking every body he came near, till his companions, seeing no other security against his tyranny, knocked him down. Some, reduced before by long sickness and the scurvy, became on this occasion, as it were, petrified and bereaved of all sense, like inanimate logs, and were bandied to and fro by the jerks and rolls of the ship, without exerting any efforts to help themselves. So terrible was the scene of foaming breakers around us, that one of the bravest men we had could not help expressing his dismay at it, saying, it was too shocking a sight to bear; and would have thrown himself over the rails of the quarter-deck into the sea had he not been prevented; but at the same time there were not wanting those who preserved a presence of mind truly heroic. The man at the helm, though both rudder and tiller were gone, kept his station; and being asked by one of the officers if the ship would steer or not, first took his time to make trial by the wheel, and then answered with as much respect and coolness as if the ship had been in the greatest safety, and immediately after applied himself with his usual serenity to his duty, persuaded it did not become him to desert it as long as the ship kept together. Mr Jones, mate, who now survives not only this wreck, but that of the Litchfield man of war upon the coast of Barbary, at the time when the ship was in the most imminent danger, not only shewed himself undaunted, but endeavoured to inspire the same resolution in the men, saying, "My friends, let us not be discouraged, did you never see a ship amongst breakers before? Let us endeavour to push her through them. Come, lend a hand: here is a sheet, and here is a brace, lay hold: I don't doubt but we may stick her yet near enough to the land to save our lives."

lives." This had so good an effect, that many who before were half dead, seemed active again, and now went to work in earnest. This Mr Jones did purely to keep up the spirits of the people as long as possible; for he often said afterwards, he thought there was not the least chance of a single man's being saved. We now run in between an opening of the breakers, steering by the sheets and braces, when providentially we stuck fast between two great rocks; that to windward sheltered us in some measure from the violence of the sea. We immediately cut away the main and fore-mast, but the ship kept beating in such a manner, that we imagined she could not hold together but a very little while. The day now broke, and the weather, that had been extremely thick, cleared away for a few moments, and gave us a glimpse of the land not far from us. We now thought of nothing but saving our lives. To get the boats out, as our masts were gone, was a work of some time, which when accomplished, many were ready to jump into the first, by which means they narrowly escaped perishing before they reached the shore. I now went to Captain Cheap, (who had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder by a fall the day before, as he was going forward to get the fore-yard swayed up) and asked him if he would not go on shore; but he told me, as he had done before, that he would be the last to leave the ship; and he ordered me to assist in getting the men out as soon as possible. I had been with him very often from the time the ship first struck, as he desired I would, to acquaint him with every thing that passed; and I particularly remarked, that he gave his orders at that time with as much coolness as ever he had done during the former part of the voyage.

The scene was now greatly changed, for many who but a few minutes before had shewn the strongest signs of despair, and were on their knees praying for mercy, imagining they were now not in that immediate danger, grew very riotous, broke open every chest and box that was at hand, stove in the heads of casks of brandy and wine as they were borne up to the hatch-way, and got so drunk, that some of them were drowned on board, and lay floating about the decks for some days after. Before I left the ship, I went down to my chest, which was at the bulk-head of the ward-room, in order to save some little matters if possible; but whilst I was there the ship thumped with such violence,

violence, and the water came in so fast, that I was forced to get upon the quarter-deck again without saving a single rag but what was upon my back. The boatswain and some of the people would not leave the ship so long as there was any liquor to be got at; upon which Captain Cheap suffered himself to be helped out of his bed, put into the boat, and carried on shore.

## CHAPTER II.

*We land on a wild Shore.—No Appearance of Inhabitants.—One of our Lieutenants dies.—Conduct of a Part of the Crew who remained on the Wreck.—We name the Place of our Residence Mount Misery.—Narrative of Transactions there.—Indians appear in Canoes off the Coast.—Description of them.—Discontents amongst our People.*

It is natural to think, that to men thus upon the point of perishing by shipwreck, the getting to land was the highest attainment of their wishes; undoubtedly it was a desirable event; yet, all things considered, our condition was but little mended by the change. Which ever way we looked, a scene of horror presented itself; on one side the wreck, (in which was all that we had in the world to support and subsist us) together with a boisterous sea, presented us with the most dreary prospect; on the other, the land did not wear a much more favourable appearance: desolate and barren, without sign of culture, we could hope to receive little other benefit from it than the preservation it afforded us from the sea. It must be confessed this was a great and merciful deliverance from immediate destruction; but then we had wet, cold, and hunger to struggle with, and no visible remedy against any of those evils. Exerting ourselves, however, though faint, benumbed, and almost helpless, to find some wretched covert against the extreme inclemency of the weather, we discovered an Indian hut at a small distance from the beach, within a wood, in which as many as possible, without distinction, crowded

themselves,

themselves, the night coming on exceedingly tempestuous and rainy. But here our situation was such as to exclude all rest and refreshment by sleep from most of us, for, besides that we pressed upon one another extremely, we were not without our alarms and apprehensions of being attacked by the Indians, from a discovery we made of some of their lances and other arms in our hut; and our uncertainty of their strength and disposition gave alarm to our imagination, and kept us in continual anxiety.

In this miserable hovel, one of our company, a lieutenant of invalids, died this night; and of those who for want of room took shelter under a great tree, which stood them in very little stead, two more perished by the severity of that cold and rainy night. In the morning, the calls of hunger, which had been hitherto suppressed by our attention to more immediate dangers and difficulties, were now become too importunate to be resisted. We had most of us fasted eight-and-forty hours, some more; it was time therefore to make enquiry among ourselves what store of sustenance had been brought from the wreck by the providence of some, and what could be procured on the island by the industry of others; but the produce of the one amounted to no more than two or three pounds of biscuit-dust preserved in a bag; and all the success of those who ventured abroad, the weather being still exceedingly bad, was to kill one sea-gull and pick some wild sellery. These, therefore, were immediately put into a pot, with the addition of a large quantity of water, and made into a kind of soup, of which each partook as far as it would go; but we had no sooner thrown this down than we were seized with the most painful sickness at our stomachs, violent reachings, swoonings, and other symptoms of being poisoned. This was imputed to various causes, but in general to the herbs we made use of, in the nature and quality of which we fancied ourselves mistaken; but a little further enquiry let us into the real occasion of it, which was no other than this: the biscuit-dust was the sweepings of the bread-room, but the bag in which they were put had been a tobacco-bag, the contents of which not being entirely taken out, what remained mixed with the biscuit-dust, and proved a strong emetic.

We were in all about a hundred and forty who had got to shore, but some few remained still on board, detained either

either by drunkenness or a view of pillaging the wreck, among whom was the boatswain. These were visited by an officer in the yawl, who was to endeavour to prevail upon them to join the rest; but finding them in the greatest disorder and disposed to mutiny, he was obliged to desist from his purpose and return without them. Though we were very desirous, and our necessities required that we should take some survey of the land we were upon, yet being strongly prepossessed that the savages were retired but some little distance from us, and waited to see us divided, our parties did not make this day any great excursions from the hut; but as far as we went, we found it very morassy and unpromising. The spot which we occupied was a bay formed by hilly promontories; that to the north so exceeding steep, that in order to ascend it (for there was no going round, the bottom being washed by the sea) we were at the labour of cutting steps. This, which we call Mount Misery, was of use to us in taking some observations afterwards when the weather would permit: the southern promontory was not so inaccessible. Beyond this, I, with some others, having reached another bay, found driven ashore some parts of the wreck, but no kind of provision; nor did we meet with any shell-fish, which we were chiefly in search of. We therefore returned to the rest, and for that day made no other repast than what the wild sellery afforded us. The ensuing night proved exceedingly tempestuous; and, the sea running very high, threatened those on board with immediate destruction by the parting of the wreck. They then were as solicitous to get ashore as they were before obstinate in refusing the assistance we sent them; and when they found the boat did not come to their relief at the instant they expected it, without considering how impracticable a thing it was to send it them in such a sea, they fired one of the quarter-deck guns at the hut, the ball of which did but just pass over the covering of it, and was plainly heard by the captain and us who were within. Another attempt, therefore, was made to bring these madmen to land; which, however, by the violence of the sea and other impediments, occasioned by the mast that lay alongside, proved ineffectual. This unavoidable delay made the people on board outrageous; they fell to beating every thing to pieces that fell in the way; and, carrying their intemperance to the greatest excess, broke open

chests

chests and cabins for plunder that could be of no use to them; and so earnest were they in this wantonness of theft, that one man had evidently been murdered on account of some division of the spoil, or for the sake of the share that fell to him, having all the marks of a strangled corpse. One thing in this outrage they seemed particularly attentive to, which was, to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, in order to support them in putting their mutinous designs in execution, and asserting their claim to a lawless exemption from the authority of their officers, which they pretended must cease with the loss of the ship. But of these arms, which we stood in great need of, they were soon bereaved upon coming ashore, by the resolution of Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Hamilton of the marines. Among these mutineers who had been left on board, as I observed before, was the boatswain, who, instead of exerting the authority he had over the rest, to keep them within bounds as much as possible, was himself a ringleader in their riot; him, without respect to the figure he then made, for he was in laced clothes, Captain Cheap, by a blow well laid on with his cane, felled to the ground. It was scarce possible to refrain from laughter at the whimsical appearance these fellows made, who, having rifled the chests of the officers' best suits, had put them on over their greasy trowsers and dirty checked shirts. They were soon stripped of their finery, as they had before been obliged to resign their arms.

The incessant rains and exceeding cold weather in this climate, rendered it impossible for us to subsist long without shelter; and the hut being much too little to receive us all, it was necessary to fall upon some expedient, without delay, which might serve our purpose: accordingly the gunner, carpenter, and some more, turning the cutter keel upwards, and fixing it upon props, made no despicable habitation. Having thus established some sort of settlement, we had the more leisure to look about us, and to make our researches with greater accuracy than we had before, after such supplies as the most desolate coasts are seldom unfurnished with. Accordingly we soon provided ourselves with some sea-fowl, and found limpets, mussels, and other shellfish in tolerable abundance; but this rummaging of the shore was now becoming extremely irksome to those who had any feeling, by the bodies of our drowned people thrown

thrown among the rocks, some of which were hideous spectacles, from the mangled condition they were in by the violent surf that drove in upon the coast. These horrors were overcome by the distresses of our people, who were even glad of the occasion of killing the gallinazo (the carrion crow of that country) while preying on these carcases, in order to make a meal of them. But a provision by no means proportionable to the number of mouths to be fed, could, by our utmost industry, be acquired from that part of the island we had hitherto traversed; therefore, till we were in a capacity of making more distant excursions, the wreck was to be applied to, as often as possible, for such supplies as could be got out of her. But as this was a very precarious fund in its present situation, and at best could not last us long; considering too that it was very uncertain how long we might be detained upon this island; the stores and provisions we were so fortunate as to retrieve, were not only to be dealt out with the most frugal economy, but a sufficient quantity, if possible, laid by, to fit us out, whenever we could agree upon any method of transporting ourselves from this dreary spot. The difficulties we had to encounter in these visits to the wreck, cannot be easily described; for no part of it being above water except the quarter-deck and part of the fore-castle, we were usually obliged to purchase such things as were within reach, by means of large hooks fastened to poles, in which business we were much incommoded by the dead bodies floating between decks.

In order to secure what we thus got in a manner to answer the ends and purposes above-mentioned, Captain Cheap ordered a store-tent to be erected near his hut, as a repository, from which nothing was to be dealt out but in the measure and proportion agreed upon by the officers; and though it was very hard upon us petty officers, who were fatigued with hunting all day in quest of food, to defend this tent from invasion by night, no other means could be devised for this purpose so effectual as the committing this charge to our care; and we were accordingly ordered to divide the task equally between us. Yet, notwithstanding our utmost vigilance and care, frequent robberies were committed upon our trust, the tent being accessible in more than one place. And one night when I had the watch, hearing a stir within, I came unawares upon the

the thief, and presenting a pistol to his breast, obliged him to submit to be tied up to a post till I had an opportunity of securing him more effectually. Depredations continued to be made on our reserved stock, notwithstanding the great hazard attending such attempts; for our common safety made it necessary to punish them with the utmost rigour. This will not be wondered at, when it is known how little the allowance which might consistently be dispensed from thence was proportionable to our common exigencies, so that our daily and nightly task of roving after food was not in the least relaxed thereby; and all put together was so far from answering our necessities, that many at this time perished with hunger. A boy, when no other eatables could be found, having picked up the liver of one of the drowned men, (whose carcase had been torn to pieces by the force with which the sea drove it among the rocks) was with difficulty withheld from making a meal of it. The men were so assiduous in their research after the few things which drove from the wreck, that in order to have no sharers of their good fortune, they examined the shore no less by night than by day; so that many of them who were less alert, or not so fortunate as their neighbours, perished with hunger, or were driven to the last extremity. It must be observed, that on the 14th of May we were cast away, and it was not till the twenty-fifth of this month that provision was served regularly from the store-tent.

The land we were now settled upon was about 90 leagues to the northward of the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, in the latitude of between 47 and 48° south, from whence we could plainly see the Cordilleras; and by two lagoons on the north and south of us, stretching towards those mountains, we conjectured it was an island. But as yet we had no means of informing ourselves perfectly whether it was an island or the main; for besides that the inland parts at little distance from us seemed impracticable, from the exceeding great thickness of the wood, we had hitherto been in such confusion and want, (each finding full employment for his time, in scraping together a wretched subsistence, and providing shelter against the cold and rain) that no party could be formed to go upon discoveries. The climate and season too were utterly unfavourable to adventurers; and the coast, as far as our eye could

could stretch seaward, a scene of such dismal breakers as would discourage the most daring from making attempts in small boats. Nor were we assisted in our enquiries by any observation that could be made from that eminence we called Mount Misery, toward land, our prospect that way being intercepted by still higher hills and lofty woods: we had therefore no other expedient by means of which to come at this knowledge, but by fitting out one of our ship's boats upon some discovery, to inform us of our situation. Our long-boat was still on board the wreck; therefore a number of hands were now dispatched to cut the gunwale of the ship in order to get her out. Whilst we were employed in this business, there appeared three canoes of Indians paddling towards us: they had come round the point from the southern lagoons. It was some time before we could prevail upon them to lay aside their fears and approach us, which at length they were induced to do by the signs of friendship we made them, and by shewing some bale-goods, which they accepted, and suffered themselves to be conducted to the captain, who made them likewise some presents. They were strangely affected with the novelty thereof, but chiefly when shewn the looking-glass, in which the beholder could not conceive it to be his own face that was represented, but that of some other behind it, which he therefore went round to the back of the glass to find out.

These people were of a small stature, very swarthy, having long black coarse hair hanging over their faces. It was evident, from their great surprise and every part of their behaviour, as well as their not having one thing in their possession which could be derived from white people, that they had never seen such. Their clothing was nothing but a bit of some beast's skin about their waists, and something woven from feathers over their shoulders; and as they uttered no word of any language we had ever heard, nor had any method of making themselves understood, we presumed they could have had no intercourse with Europeans. These savages, who upon their departure left us a few mussels, returned in two days, and surprised us by bringing three sheep. From whence they could procure these animals in a part of the world so distant from any Spanish settlement, cut off from all communication with the Spaniards by an inaccessible coast and unprofitable country, is difficult

cult to conceive. Certain it is, that we saw no such creatures, nor ever heard of any such, from the Straits of Magellan till we got into the neighbourhood of Chiloe; it must be by some strange accident that these creatures came into their possession, but what that was we never could learn from them. At this interview we bartered with them for a dog or two, which we roasted and eat. In a few days after they made us another visit, and, bringing their wives with them, took up their abode with us for some days, then left us again.

Whenever the weather permitted, which was now grown something drier, but exceeding cold, we employed ourselves about the wreck, from which we had, at sundry times, recovered several articles of provision and liquor: these were deposited in the store-tent. Ill humour and discontent, from the difficulties we laboured under in procuring subsistence, and the little prospect there was of any amendment in our condition, was now breaking out apace. In some it shewed itself by a separation of settlement and habitation; in others, by a resolution of leaving the captain entirely, and making a wild journey by themselves, without determining upon any plan whatever. For my own part, seeing it was the fashion, and liking none of their parties, I built a little hut just big enough for myself and a poor Indian dog I found in the woods, who could shift for himself along shore at low water, by getting limpets. This creature grew so fond of me and faithful, that he would suffer nobody to come near the hut without biting them. Besides those seceders I mentioned, some laid a scheme of deserting us entirely; these were in number ten, the greatest part of them a most desperate and abandoned crew, who, to strike a notable stroke before they went off, placed half a barrel of gunpowder close to the captain's hut, laid a train to it, and were just preparing to perpetrate their wicked design of blowing up their commander, when they were with difficulty dissuaded from it by one who had some bowels and remorse of conscience left in him. These wretches, after rambling some time in the woods, and finding it impracticable to get off, for they were then convinced that we were not upon the main, as they had imagined when they first left us, but upon an island within four or five leagues of it, returned and settled about a league from us; however, they were still determined, as soon as they could procure craft

craft fit for their purpose, to get to the main. But before they could effect this, we found means to prevail upon the armourer and one of the carpenter's crew, two very useful men to us, who had imprudently joined them, to come over again to their duty. The rest, (one or two excepted) having built a punt, and converted the hull of one of the ship's masts into a canoe, went away up one of the lagoons, and never were heard of more.

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## CHAPTER III.

*Unfortunate Death of Mr Cozens.—Improper Conduct of Captain Cheap.—The Indians join us in a friendly Manner, but depart presently on account of the Misconduct of our Men.—Our Number dreadfully reduced by Famine.—Description of the various Contrivances used for procuring Food.—Further Transactions.—Departure from the Island.*

THESE being a desperate and factious set, did not distress us much by their departure, but rather added to our future security. One in particular, James Mitchell by name, we had all the reason in the world to think had committed no less than two murders since the loss of our ship, one on the person found strangled on board, another on the body of a man whom we discovered among some bushes upon Mount Misery, stabbed in several places, and shockingly mangled. This diminution of our number was succeeded by an unfortunate accident much more affecting in its consequences, I mean the death of Mr Cozens, midshipman; in relating which with the necessary impartiality and exactness, I think myself obliged to be more than ordinary particular. Having one day, among other things, got a cask of pease out of the wreck, about which I was almost constantly employed, I brought it to shore in the yawl, when having landed it, the captain came down upon the beach, and bid me to go up to some of the tents and order hands to come down and roll it up; but finding none except Mr Cozens, I delivered him

him the orders, who immediately came down to the captain, where I left them when I returned to the wreck. Upon my coming on shore again, I found that Mr Cozens was put under confinement by the captain for being drunk and giving him abusive language; however, he was soon after released. A day or two after he had some dispute with the surgeon, and came to blows: all these things incensed the captain greatly against him. I believe this unfortunate man was kept warm with liquor, and set on by some ill-designing persons; for, when sober, I never knew a better-natured man, or one more inoffensive. Some little time after, at the hour of serving provisions, Mr Cozens was at the store-tent; and having, it seems, lately had a quarrel with the purser, and now some words arising between them, the latter told him he was come to mutiny; and without any further ceremony fired a pistol at his head, which narrowly missed him. The captain, hearing the report of the pistol, and perhaps the purser's words, that Cozens was come to mutiny, ran out of his hut with a cocked pistol in his hand, and, without asking any questions, immediately shot him through the head. I was at this time in my hut, as the weather was extremely bad, but running out upon the alarm of this firing, the first thing I saw was Mr Cozens on the ground weltering in his blood: he was sensible, and took me by the hand, as he did several others, shaking his head, as if he meant to take leave of us. If Mr Cozens' behaviour to his captain was indecent and provoking, the captain's, on the other hand, was rash and hasty. If the first was wanting in that respect and observance which is due from a petty officer to his commander, the latter was still more unadvised in the method he took for the enforcement of his authority; of which, indeed, he was jealous to the last degree, and which he saw daily declining, and ready to be trampled upon. His mistaken apprehension of a mutinous design in Mr Cozens, the sole motive of this rash action, was so far from answering the end he proposed by it, that the men, who before were much dissatisfied and uneasy, were by this unfortunate step thrown almost into open sedition and revolt. It was evident that the people, who ran out of their tents, alarmed by the report of fire-arms, though they disguised their real sentiments for the present, were extremely affected at this catastrophe of Mr Cozens, for he was greatly beloved by them: their minds were now exasperated

asperated, and it was to be apprehended, that their resentment, which was smothered for the present, would shortly shew itself in some desperate enterprize. The unhappy victim, who lay weltering in his blood on the ground before them, seemed to absorb their whole attention; the eyes of all were fixed upon him; and visible marks of the deepest concern appeared in the countenances of the spectators. The persuasion the captain was under, at the time he shot Mr Cozens, that his intentions were mutinous, together with a jealousy of the diminution of his authority, occasioned also his behaving with less compassion and tenderness towards him afterwards than was consistent with the unhappy condition of the poor sufferer: for when it was begged as a favour by his mess-mates, that Mr Cozens might be removed to their tent, though a necessary thing in his dangerous situation, yet it was not permitted; but the poor wretch was suffered to languish on the ground some days, with no other covering than a bit of canvas thrown over some bushes, where he died. But to return to our story: the captain, addressing himself to the people thus assembled, told them, that it was his resolution to maintain his command over them as usual, which still remained in as much force as ever; and then ordered them all to return to their respective tents, with which order they instantly complied. Now we had saved our long-boat from the wreck, and got it in our possession, there was nothing that seemed so necessary towards the advancing our delivery from this desolate place as the new-modelling this vessel, so as to have room for all those who were inclined to go off in her, and to put her in a condition to bear the stormy seas we must of course encounter. We therefore hauled her up, and having placed her upon blocks, sawed her in two, in order to lengthen her about twelve feet by the keel. For this purpose, all those who could be spared from the more immediate task of procuring subsistence, were employed in fitting and shaping timber as the carpenter directed them; I say, in procuring subsistence, because the weather lately having been very tempestuous, and the wreck working much, had disgorged a great part of her contents, which were every where dispersed about the shore.

We now sent frequent parties up the lagoons, which sometimes succeeded in getting some sea-fowl for us. The Indians appearing again in the offing, we put off our yawl in-

in order to frustrate any design they might have of going up the lagoon towards the deserters, who would have availed themselves of some of their canoes to have got upon the main. Having conducted them in, we found that their intention was to settle among us, for they had brought their wives and children with them, in all about fifty persons, who immediately set about building themselves wigwams, and seemed much reconciled to our company; and, could we have entertained them as we ought, they would have been of great assistance to us, who were extremely put to it to subsist ourselves, being a hundred in number; but the men, now subject to little or no controul, endeavoured to seduce their wives, which gave the Indians such offence, that in a short time they found means to depart, taking every thing along with them; and we, being sensible of the cause, never expected to see them return again. The carpenter having made some progress in his work upon the long-boat, in which he was enabled to proceed tolerably, by the tools and other articles of his business retrieved from the wreck, the men began to think of the course they should take to get home; or rather, having borrowed Sir John Narborough's voyage of Captain Cheap, by the application of Mr Bulkely, which book he saw me reading one day in my tent, they immediately upon perusing it, concluded upon making their voyage home by the Straits of Magellan. This plan was proposed to the captain, who by no means approved of it, his design being to go northwards, with a view of seizing a ship of the enemy's, by which means he might join the commodore: at present, therefore, here it rested. But the men were in high spirits from the prospect they had of getting off in the long-boat, overlooking all the difficulties and hazards of a voyage almost impracticable, and caressing the carpenter, who indeed was an excellent workman, and deserved all the encouragement they could give him. The Indians having left us, and the weather continuing tempestuous and rainy, the distresses of the people for want of food became insupportable. Our number, which was at first 145, was now reduced to 100, and chiefly by famine, which put the rest upon all shifts and devices to support themselves.

One day, when I was at home in my hut with my Indian dog, a party came to my door, and told me their necessities were such, that they must eat the creature or starve.

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Though their plea was urgent, I could not help using some arguments to endeavour to dissuade them from killing him, as his faithful services and fondness deserved it at my hands; but, without weighing my arguments, they took him away by force and killed him; upon which, thinking that I had at least as good a right to a share as the rest, I sat down with them and partook of their repast. Three weeks after that I was glad to make a meal of his paws and skin, which, upon recollecting the spot where they had killed him, I found thrown aside and rotten. The pressing calls of hunger drove our men to their wit's end, and put them upon a variety of devices to satisfy it. Among the ingenious this way, one Phipps, a boatswain's mate, having got a water puncheon, scuttled it; then lashing two logs, one on each side, set out in quest of adventures in this extraordinary and original piece of embarkation. By this means he would frequently, when all the rest were starving, provide himself with wild-fowl; and it must have been very bad weather indeed which could deter him from putting out to sea when his occasions required. Sometimes he would venture far out in the offing, and be absent the whole day; at last, it was his misfortune, at a great distance from shore, to be overset by a heavy sea, but being near a rock, though no swimmer, he managed so as to scramble to it, and with great difficulty ascended it: There he remained two days with very little hopes of any relief, for he was too far off to be seen from shore; but fortunately a boat, having put off and gone in quest of wild-fowl that way, discovered him making such signals as he was able, and brought him back to the island. But this accident did not discourage him, but that soon after, having procured an ox's hide, used on board for sifting powder, and called a gunner's hide, by the assistance of some hoops he formed something like a canoe, in which he made several successful voyages. When the weather would permit us, we seldom failed of getting some wild-fowl, though never in any plenty, by putting off with our boats; but this most inhospitable climate is not only deprived of the sun for the most part by a thick, rainy atmosphere, but is also visited by almost incessant tempests. It must be confessed we reaped some benefit from these hard gales and overgrown seas, which drove several things ashore; but there was no dependence on such accidental relief; and we were always

alert

alert to avail ourselves of every interval of fair weather, though so little to be depended on, that we were often unexpectedly and to our peril overtaken by a sudden change. In one of our excursions, I, with two more, in a wretched punt of our own making, had no sooner landed at our station upon a high rock, than the punt was driven loose by a sudden squall; and had not one of the men, at the risk of his life, jumped into the sea and swam on board her, we must in all probability have perished, for we were more than three leagues from the island at the time. Among the birds we generally shot, was the painted goose, whose plumage is variegated with the most lively colours; and a bird much larger than a goose, which we called the racehorse, from the velocity with which it moved upon the surface of the water, in a sort of half-flying half-running motion. But we were not so successful in our endeavours by land; for though we sometimes got pretty far into the woods, we met with very few birds in our walks. We never saw but three woodcocks, two of which were killed by Mr Hamilton, and one by myself. These, with some humming-birds, and a large kind of robin red-breast, were the only feathered inhabitants of this island, excepting a small bird with two very long feathers in his tail, which was generally seen amongst the rocks, and was so tame, that I have had them rest upon my shoulder whilst I have been gathering shell-fish. Indeed, we were visited by many birds of prey, some very large, but these only occasionally, and, as we imagined, allured by some dead whale in the neighbourhood, which was once seen. However, if we were so fortunate as to kill one of them, we thought ourselves very well off. In one of my walks, seeing a bird of this latter kind upon an eminence, I endeavoured to come upon it unperceived with my gun, by means of the woods which lay at the back of that eminence; but when I had proceeded so far in the wood as to think I was in a line with it, I heard a growling close by me, which made me think it advisable to retire as soon as possible: The woods were so gloomy I could see nothing; but as I retired, this noise followed me close till I had got out of them. Some of our men did assure me that they had seen a very large beast in the woods, but their description of it was too imperfect to be relied upon. The wood here is chiefly of the aromatic kind; the iron wood, a wood of a very deep red hue, and another, of an exceeding bright yellow.

yellow. All the low spots are very swampy; but, what we thought strange, upon the summits of the highest hills were found beds of shells, a foot or two thick.

The long-boat being nearly finished, some of our company were selected to go out in the barge in order to reconnoitre the coast to the southward, which might assist us in the navigation we were going upon. This party consisted of Mr Bulkely, Mr Jones, the purser, myself, and ten men. The first night we put into a good harbour, a few leagues to the southward of Wager's Island, where finding a large bitch big with puppies, we regaled upon them. In this expedition we had our usual bad weather and breaking seas, which were grown to such a height the third day, that we were obliged, through distress, to push in at the first inlet we saw at hand. This we had no sooner entered, than we were presented with a view of a fine bay, in which having secured the barge, we went ashore; but the weather being very rainy, and finding nothing to subsist upon, we pitched a bell-tent, which we had brought with us, in the wood opposite to where the barge lay. As this tent was not large enough to contain us all, I proposed to four of the people to go to the end of the bay, about two miles distant from the bell-tent, to occupy the skeleton of an old Indian wigwam, which I had discovered in a walk that way upon our first landing. This we covered to windward with sea-weed; and lighting a fire, laid ourselves down, in hopes of finding a remedy for our hunger in sleep; but we had not long composed ourselves before one of our company was disturbed by the blowing of some animal at his face, and upon opening his eyes was not a little astonished to see, by the glimmering of the fire, a large beast standing over him. He had presence of mind enough to snatch a brand from the fire, which was now very low, and thrust it at the nose of the animal, who thereupon made off: This done, the man awoke us, and related, with horror in his countenance, the narrow escape he had of being devoured. But though we were under no small apprehensions of another visit from this animal, yet our fatigue and heaviness was greater than our fears, and we once more composed ourselves to rest, and slept the remainder of the night without any further disturbance. In the morning, we were not a little anxious to know how our companions had fared; and this anxiety was increased upon tracing the footsteps of the beast in the

sand

sand in a direction towards the bell-tent. The impression was deep and plain, of a large round foot well furnished with claws. Upon our acquainting the people in the tent with the circumstances of our story, we found that they too had been visited by the same unwelcome guest, which they had driven away by much the same expedient.

We now returned from this cruise, with a strong gale, to Wager's Island, having found it impracticable to make farther discoveries in the barge on so dangerous a coast, and in such heavy seas. Here we soon discovered, by the quarters of dogs hanging up, that the Indians had brought a fresh supply to our market. Upon enquiry, we found that there had been six canoes of them, who, among other methods of taking fish, had taught their dogs to drive the fish into a corner of some pond or lake, from whence they were easily taken out by the skill and address of these savages. The old cabal, during our absence, had been frequently revived; the debates of which generally ended in riot and drunkenness. This cabal was chiefly held in a large tent, which the people belonging to it had taken some pains to make snug and convenient, and lined with bales of broad cloth driven from the wreck. Eighteen of the stoutest fellows of the ship's company had possession of this tent, from whence were dispatched committees to the captain, with the resolutions they had taken with regard to their departure, but oftener for liquor. Their determination was to go in the long-boat to the southward by the Straits of Magellan; and the point they were labouring, was to prevail upon the captain to accompany them. But though he had fixed upon a quite different plan, which was to go to the northward, yet he thought it politic at present seemingly to acquiesce with them, in order to keep them quiet. When they began to stipulate with him, that he should be under some restrictions in point of command, and should do nothing without consulting his officers, he insisted upon the full exercise of his authority as before. This broke all measures between them, and they were from this time determined he should go with them whether he would or no. A better pretence they could not have for effecting this design, than the unfortunate affair of Mr Cozens, which they therefore made use of for seizing his person, and putting him under confinement, in order to bring him to his trial in England.

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The long-boat was now launched and ready for sailing, and all the men embarked, excepting Captain Pemberton with a party of marines, who drew them up upon the beach with intent to conduct Captain Cheap on board; but he was at length persuaded to desist from this resolution by Mr Bulkely. The men too, finding they were straitened for room, and that their stock of provision would not admit of their taking supernumeraries aboard, were now no less strenuous for his enlargement, and being left to his option of staying behind. Therefore, after having distributed their share in the reserved stock of provision, which was very small, we departed, leaving Captain Cheap, Mr Hamilton of the marines, and the surgeon, upon the island. I had all along been in the dark as to the turn this affair would take; and not in the least suspecting but that it was determined Captain Cheap should be taken with us, readily embarked under that persuasion; but when I found that this design, which was so seriously carried on to the last, was suddenly dropped, I was determined, upon the first opportunity, to leave them, which was at this instant impossible for me to do, the long-boat lying at some distance off shore at anchor.

We were in all eighty-one when we left the island, distributed into the long-boat, cutter, and barge; fifty-nine on board the first, twelve in the second, in the last ten. It was our purpose to put into some harbour, if possible, every evening, as we were in no condition to keep those terrible seas long; for without other assistance, our stock of provisions was no more than might have been consumed in a few days; our water was chiefly contained in a few powder-barrels; our flour was to be lengthened out by a mixture of sea-weed; and our other supplies depended upon the success of our guns and industry among the rocks. Captain Pemberton having brought on board his men, we weighed, but by a sudden squall of wind having split our foresail, we with difficulty cleared the rocks by means of our boats, bore away for a sandy bay on the south side of the lagoon, and anchored in ten fathom. The next morning we got under weigh, but it blowing hard at W. by N. with a great swell, put into a small bay again, well sheltered by a ledge of rocks without us. At this time it was thought necessary to send the barge away back to Cheap's bay for some spare canvas, which was imagined would be

soon

soon wanted. I thought this a good opportunity of returning, and therefore made one with those who went upon this business in the barge. We were no sooner clear of the long-boat, than all of those in the boat with me declared they had the same intention.

When we arrived at the island, we were extremely welcome to Captain Cheap. The next day, I asked him leave to try if I could prevail upon those in the long-boat to give us our share of provisions: this he granted; but said, if we went in the barge they would certainly take her from us. I told him my design was to walk it, and only desired the boat might land me upon the main, and wait for me till I came back. I had the most dreadful journey of it imaginable, through thick woods and swamps all the way; but I might as well have spared myself that trouble, as it was to no manner of purpose, for they would not give me, nor any one of us that left them, a single ounce of provisions of any kind. I therefore returned, and after that made a second attempt, but all in vain. They even threatened, if we did not return with the barge, they would fetch her by force. It is impossible to conceive the distressed situation we were now in at the time of the long-boat's departure. I don't mention this event as the occasion of it; by which, if we who were left on the island experienced any alteration at all, it was for the better, and which, in all probability, had it been deferred, might have been fatal to the greatest part of us; but at this time the subsistence on which we had hitherto depended chiefly, which was the shell-fish, were every where along shore eat up; and as to stock saved from the wreck, it may be guessed what the amount of that might be, when the share allotted to the captain, Lieutenant Hamilton, and the surgeon, was no more than six pieces of beef, as many of pork, and ninety pounds of flour. As to myself and those that left the long-boat, it was the least revenge they thought they could take of us to withhold our provision from us, though at the same time it was hard and unjust. For a day or two after our return there was some little pittance dealt out to us, yet it was upon the foot of favour; and we were soon left to our usual industry for a farther supply. This was now exerted to very little purpose, for the reason before assigned; to which may be added, the wreck was now blown up, all her upper works gone, and no hopes of any valuable driftage from her for the future. A weed called slaugh

slaugh, fried in the tallow of some candles we had saved, and wild sellery, were our only fare, by which our strength was so much impaired, that we could scarcely crawl. It was my misfortune too to labour under a severe flux, by which I was reduced to a very feeble state; so that, in attempting to traverse the rocks in search of shell-fish, I fell from one into very deep water, and with difficulty saved my life by swimming.

As the captain was now freed, by the departure of the long-boat, from the riotous applications, menaces, and disturbance of an unruly crew, and left at liberty to follow the plan he had resolved upon, of going northward, he began to think seriously of putting it in execution, in order to which, a message was sent to the deserters, who had seated themselves on the other side of the neighbouring lagoon, to sound them, whether they were inclined to join the captain in his undertaking, and if they were, to bring them over to him. For this set, the party gone off in the long-boat had left an half-allowance proportion of the common stock of provision. These men, upon the proposal, readily agreed to join their commander; and being conducted to him, increased our number to twenty. The boats which remained in our possession to carry off all these people were only the barge and yawl, two very crazy bottoms; the broadside of the last was entirely out, and the first had suffered much in a variety of bad weather she had gone through, and was much out of repair. And now our carpenter was gone from us, we had no remedy for these misfortunes but the little skill we had gained from him. However, we made tolerable shift to patch up the boats for our purpose. In the height of our distresses, when hunger, which seems to include and absorb all others, was most prevailing, we were cheered with the appearance once more of our friendly Indians, as we thought, from whom we hoped for some relief; but as the consideration was wanting for which alone they would part with their commodities, we were not at all benefited by their stay, which was very short. The little reserve too of flour made by the captain for our sea-stock when we should leave the island, was now diminished by theft: the thieves, who were three of our men, were however soon discovered, and two of them apprehended, but the third made his escape to the woods. Considering the pressing state of our necessities, this theft was looked upon as a most heinous

ous crime, and therefore required an extraordinary punishment: accordingly, the captain ordered these delinquents to be severely whipped, and then to be banished to an island at some distance from us; but before this latter part of the sentence could be put in execution, one of them fled, but the other was put alone upon a barren island, which afforded not the least shelter: however, we, in compassion, and contrary to order, patched him up a bit of a hut and kindled him a fire, and then left the poor wretch to shift for himself. In two or three days after, going to the island in our boat with some little refreshment, such as our miserable circumstances would admit of, and with an intent of bringing him back, we found him dead and stiff. I was now reduced to the lowest condition by my illness, which was increased by the vile stuff I eat, when we were favoured by a fair day, a thing very extraordinary in this climate. We instantly took the advantage of it, and once more visited the last remains of the wreck, her bottom. Here our pains were repaid with the great good fortune of hooking up three casks of beef, which were brought safe to shore. This providential supply could not have happened at a more seasonable time than now, when we were afflicted with the greatest dearth we had ever experienced, and the little strength we had remaining was to be exerted in our endeavours to leave the island. Accordingly we soon found a remedy for our sickness, which was nothing but the effects of famine, and were greatly restored by food. The provision was equally distributed among us all, and served us for the remainder of our stay here.

We began to grow extremely impatient to leave the island, as the days were now nearly at their longest, and about Midsummer in these parts; but as to the weather, there seems to be little difference in a difference of seasons. Accordingly, on the 15th of December, the day being tolerable, we told Captain Cheap we thought it a fine opportunity to run across the bay. But he first desired two or three of us to accompany him to our place of observation, the top of Mount Misery, when, looking through his perspective, he observed to us that the sea ran very high without. However, this had no weight with the people, who were desirous, at all events, to be gone. I should here observe, that Captain Cheap's plan was, if possible, to get to the island of Chiloe, and if we found any vessel there, to board her immediately

mediately and cut her out. This he might certainly have done with ease, had it been his good fortune to get round with the boats.

We now launched both boats, and got every thing on board of them as quick as possible. Captain Cheap, the surgeon, and myself, were in the barge with nine men, and Lieutenant Hamilton and Mr Campbell in the yawl with six. I steered the barge, and Mr Campbell the yawl; but we had not been two hours at sea before the wind shifted more to the westward and began to blow very hard, and the sea ran extremely high, so that we could no longer keep our heads towards the cape or headland we had designed for. This cape we had had a view of, in one of the intervals of fair weather during our abode on the island, from Mount Misery; and it seemed to be distant between twenty and thirty leagues from us. We were now obliged to bear away right before the wind. Though the yawl was not far from us, we could see nothing of her, except now and then upon the top of a mountainous sea. In both the boats the men were obliged to sit as close as possible, to receive the seas on their backs, to prevent their filling us, which was what we every moment expected. We were obliged to throw every thing overboard to lighten the boats, all our beef, and even the grapnel, to prevent sinking. Night was coming on, and we were running on a lee-shore fast, where the sea broke in a frightful manner. Not one amongst us imagined it possible for boats to live in such a sea. In this situation, as we neared the shore, expecting to be beat to pieces by the first breaker, we perceived a small opening between the rocks, which we stood for, and found a very narrow passage between them, which brought us into a harbour for the boats, as calm and smooth as a mill-pond. The yawl had got in before us, and our joy was great at meeting again after so unexpected a deliverance. Here we secured the boats, and ascended a rock.

It rained excessively hard all the first part of the night, and was extremely cold; and though we had not a dry thread about us, and no wood could be found for firing, we were obliged to pass the night in that uncomfortable situation, without any covering, shivering in our wet clothes. The frost coming on with the morning, it was impossible for any of us to get a moment's sleep; and having flung overboard our provision the day before, there being no prospect

pect of finding any thing to eat on this coast, in the morning we pulled out of the cove, but found so great a sea without, that we could make but little of it. After tugging all day, towards night we put in among some small islands, landed upon one of them, and found it a mere swamp. As the weather was the same, we passed this night much as we had done the preceding; sea-tangle was all we could get to eat at first, but the next day we had better luck; the surgeon got a goose, and we found materials for a good fire.

We were confined here three or four days, the weather all that time proving so bad that we could not put out. As soon as it grew moderate, we left this place and shaped our course to the northward; and perceiving a large opening between very high land and a low point, we steered for it, and when got that length, found a large bay, down which we rowed, flattering ourselves there might be a passage that way; but towards night we came to the bottom of the bay, and finding no outlet, we were obliged to return the same way we came, having found nothing the whole day to alleviate our hunger.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Occurrences on our Voyage.—We encounter bad Weather and various Dangers and Distresses.—Leave a Part of our Crew behind on a desert Shore.—A strange Cemetry discovered.—Narrow Escape from Wreck.—Return to Mount Misery.—We are visited by a Chanos Indian Cacique, who talks Spanish, with whom we again take our Departure from the Island.*

Next night we put into a little cove, which, from the great quantity of red wood found there, we called Red-wood Cove. Leaving this place in the morning, we had the wind southerly, blowing fresh, by which we made much way that day to the northward. Towards evening we were in with a pret-

ty large island. Putting ashore on it, we found it clothed with the finest trees we had ever seen, their stems running up to a prodigious height, without knot or branch, and as straight as cedars; the leaf of these trees resembles the myrtle leaf, only somewhat larger. I have seen trees larger than these in circumference on the coast of Guinea, and there only; but for a length of stem, which gradually tapered, I have no where met with any to compare to them. The wood was of a hard substance, and if not too heavy, would have made good masts; the dimensions of some of these trees being equal to a main-mast of a first-rate man of war. The shore was covered with drift wood of a very large size, most of it cedar, which makes a brisk fire; but is so subject to snap and fly, that when we waked in the morning, after a sound sleep, we found our clothes singed in many places with the sparks, and covered with splinters.

The next morning being calm, we rowed out, but as soon as clear of the island, we found a great swell from the westward; we rowed to the bottom of a very large bay which was to the northward of us, the land very low, and we were in hopes of finding some inlet through, but did not, so kept along shore to the westward. This part, which I take to be above fifty leagues from Wager Island, is the very bottom of the large bay it lies in. Here was the only passage to be found, which, if we could by any means have got information of it, would have saved us much fruitless labour. Of this passage I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

Having at this time an off-shore wind, we kept the land close on board till we came to a head-land: it was near night before we got abreast of the head-land, and opening it discovered a very large bay to the northward, and another head-land to the westward, at a great distance. We endeavoured to cut short our passage to it by crossing, which is very seldom to be effected in these overgrown seas by boats; and this we experienced now, for the wind springing up, and beginning to blow fresh, we were obliged to put back towards the first head-land, into a small cove, just big enough to shelter the two boats. Here an accident happened that alarmed us much. After securing our boats, we climbed up a rock scarcely large enough to contain our numbers: having nothing to eat, we betook ourselves to our usual receipt for hunger, which was going to sleep. We accordingly made a fire, and stowed ourselves round

round it as well as we could, but two of our men being incommoded for want of room, went a little way from us into a small nook, over which a great cliff hung, and served them for a canopy.

In the middle of the night we were awakened with a terrible rumbling, which we apprehended to be nothing less than the shock of an earthquake, which we had before experienced in these parts; and this conjecture we had reason to think not ill founded, upon hearing hollow groans and cries as of men half swallowed up. We immediately got up, and ran to the place from whence the cries came, and then we were put out of all doubt as to the opinion we had formed of this accident, for here we found the two men almost buried under loose stones and earth; but upon a little farther enquiry, we were undeceived as to the cause we had imputed this noise to, which we found to be occasioned by the sudden giving way of the impending cliff, which fell a little beyond our people, carrying trees and rocks with it and loose earth, the latter of which fell in part on our men, whom we with some pains rescued from their uneasy situation, from which they escaped with some bruises.

The next morning we got out early, and the wind being westerly, rowed the whole day for the head-land we had seen the night before; but when we had got that length could find no harbour, but were obliged to go into a sandy bay, and lay the whole night upon our oars, and a most dreadful one it proved, blowing and raining very hard. Here we were so pinched with hunger, that we eat the shoes off our feet, which consisted of raw seal-skin. In the morning we got out of the bay, but the incessant foul weather had overcome us, and we began to be indifferent as to what befel us; and the boats in the night making into a bay, we nearly lost the yawl, a breaker having filled her and driven her ashore upon the beach. This, by some of our accounts, was Christmas-day; but our accounts had so often been interrupted by our distresses, that there was no depending upon them. Upon seeing the yawl in this imminent danger, the barge stood off and went into another bay to the northward of it, where it was smoother lying; but there was no possibility of getting on shore. In the night the yawl joined us again.

The next day was so bad, that we despaired reaching the head-land, so rowed down the bay in hopes of getting some

some seal, as that animal had been seen the day before, but met with no success; so returned to the same bay we had been in the night before, where the surf having abated somewhat, we went ashore and picked up a few shell-fish. In the morning we got on board early, and ran along shore to the westward for about three leagues, in order to get round a cape, which was the westernmost land we could see. It blew very hard, and there ran such a sea, that we heartily wished ourselves back again, and accordingly made the best of our way for that bay which we had left in the morning; but before we could reach it night came on, and we passed a most dismal one, lying upon our oars.

The weather continuing very bad, we put in for the shore in the morning, where we found nothing but tangle and sea-weed. We now passed some days roving about for provisions, as the weather was too bad to make another attempt to get round the cape as yet. We found some fine lagoons towards the head of the bay, and in them killed some seal, and got a good quantity of shell-fish, which was a great relief to us. We now made a second attempt to double the cape; but when we got the length of it, and passed the first head-land, for it consists of three of an equal height, we got into a sea that was horrid, for it ran all in heaps like the Race of Portland, but much worse. We were happy to put back to the old place, with little hopes of ever getting round this cape.

Next day, the weather proving very bad, all hands went ashore to procure some sustenance, except two in each boat, which were left as boat-keepers: this office we took by turns, and it was now my lot to be upon this duty with another man. The yawl lay within us at a grapnel; in the night it blew very hard, and a great sea tumbled in upon the shore; but being extremely fatigued, we in the boats went to sleep: notwithstanding, however, I was at last awakened by the uncommon motion of the boat, and the roaring of the breakers every where about us. At the same time I heard a shrieking, like to that of persons in distress; I looked out, and saw the yawl canted bottom upwards by a sea, and soon afterwards disappeared. One of our men, whose name was William Rose, a quarter-master, was drowned; the other was thrown ashore by the surf, with his head buried in the sand, but by the immediate assistance of the people on shore, was saved. As for us in the barge,

barge, we expected the same fate every moment, for the sea broke a long way without us. However, we got her head to it, and hove up our grapnel, or should rather say kellick, which we had made to serve in the room of our grapnel, hove overboard some time before to lighten the boat. By this means we used our utmost efforts to pull her without the breakers some way, and then let go our kellick again. Here we lay all the next day in a great sea, not knowing what would be our fate. To add to our mortification, we could see our companions in tolerable plight ashore, eating seal, while we were starving with hunger and cold. For this month past we had not known what it was to have a dry thread about us.

The next day being something more moderate, we ventured in with the barge as near as we could to the shore, and our companions threw us some seals liver, which having eat greedily, we were seized with excessive sickness, which affected us so much that our skin peeled off from head to foot.

Whilst the people were on shore here, Mr Hamilton met with a large seal or sea-lion, and fired a brace of balls into him, upon which the animal turned upon him open-mouthed; but presently fixing his bayonet, he thrust it down its throat, with a good part of the barrel of the gun, which the creature bit in two seemingly with as much ease as if it had been a twig. Notwithstanding the wounds it received, it eluded all farther efforts to kill it, and got clear off.

I call this animal a large seal or sea-lion, because it resembles a seal in many particulars; but then it exceeds it so much in size, as to be sufficiently determined, by that distinction only, to be of another species. Mr Walter, in Lord Anson's voyage, has given a particular description of those which are seen about Juan Fernandes; but they have in other climates different appearances as well as different qualities, as we had occasion to observe in this and a late voyage I made. However, as so much already has been said of the sea-lion, I shall only mention two peculiarities, one relative to its appearance, and the other to its properties of action, which distinguish it from those described by him. Those I saw were without that snout or trunk hanging below the end of the upper jaw; but then the males were furnished with a large shaggy mane, which gave them a most formidable appearance. And, whereas, he says

those

those he saw were unwieldy and easily destroyed, we found some, on the contrary, that lay at a mile's distance from the water, which came down upon us when disturbed with such impetuosity, that it was as much as we could do to get out of their way; and, when attacked, would turn upon us with great agility.

Having lost the yawl, and being too many for the barge to carry off, we were compelled to leave four of our men behind. They were all marines, who seemed to have no great objection to the determination made with regard to them, so exceedingly disheartened and worn out were they with the distresses and dangers they had already gone through. And, indeed, I believe it would have been a matter of indifference to the greatest part of the rest, whether they should embark or take their chance. The captain distributed to these poor fellows arms and ammunition, and some other necessaries. When we parted, they stood upon the beach, giving us three cheers, and called out, God bless the King! We saw them a little after setting out upon their forlorn hope, and helping one another over a hideous tract of rocks; but considering the difficulties attending this only way of travelling left them, for the woods are impracticable, from their thickness and the deep swamps every where to be met in them; considering too that the coast here is rendered so inhospitable by the heavy seas that are constantly tumbling upon it, as not to afford even a little shell-fish, it is probable that all met with a miserable end.

We rowed along shore to the westward in order to make one more attempt to double the cape; when abreast of the first head-land, there ran such a sea that we expected every moment the boat would go down. But as the preservation of life had now in a great measure lost its actuating principle upon us, we still kept pushing through it, till we opened a bay to the northward. In all my life I never saw so dreadful a sea as drove in here; it began to break at more than half a mile from the shore. Perceiving now that it was impossible for any boat to get round, the men lay upon their oars till the boat was very near the breakers, the mountainous swell that then ran heaving her in at a great rate. I thought it was their intention to put an end to their lives and misery at once, but nobody spoke for some time. At last Captain Cheap told them they must either perish

perish immediately, or pull stoutly for it to get off the shore, but they might do as they pleased. They chose, however, to exert themselves a little, and after infinite difficulty got round the head-land again, giving up all thoughts of making any further attempt to double the cape. It was night before we could get back to the bay, where we were compelled to leave four of our men, in order to save, if possible, the remainder; for we must all have certainly perished, if more than sixteen had been crowded into so small a boat: this bay we named Marine Bay. When we had returned to this bay, we found the surf ran so high, that we were obliged to lay upon our oars all night; and it was now resolved to go back to Wager's island, there to linger out a miserable life, as we had not the least prospect of returning home.

But before we set out, in consequence of this resolution, it was necessary, if possible, to get some little stock of seal to support us in a passage, upon which, whenever we might put in, we were not likely to meet with any supply. Accordingly, it was determined to go up that lagoon, in which we had before got some seal, to provide ourselves with some more, but we did not leave the bay till we had made some search after the unhappy marines we had left on shore. Could we have found them, we had now agreed to take them on board again, though it would have been the certain destruction of us all. This, at another time, would have been mere madness; but we were now resigned to our fate, which we none of us thought far off; however, there was nothing to be seen of them, and no traces but a musket on the beach.

Upon returning up the lagoon, we were so fortunate as to kill some seal, which we boiled and laid in the boat for sea-stock. While we were ranging along shore in detached parties in quest of this and whatever other eatable might come in our way, our surgeon, who was then by himself, discovered a pretty large hole, which seemed to lead to some den or repository within the rocks. It was not so rude or natural, but that there were some signs of its having been cleared and made more accessible by industry. The surgeon for some time hesitated whether he should venture in, from his uncertainty as to the reception he might meet with from any inhabitant; but his curiosity getting the better of his fears, he determined to go in,

which

which he did upon his hands and knees, as the passage was too low for him to enter otherwise.

After having proceeded a considerable way thus, he arrived at a spacious chamber, but whether hollowed out by hands, or natural, he could not be positive. The light into this chamber was conveyed through a hole at the top; in the midst was a kind of bier, made of sticks laid crossways, supported by props of about five feet in height. Upon this bier five or six bodies were extended, which, in appearance, had been deposited there a long time, but had suffered no decay or diminution. They were without covering, and the flesh of their bodies was become perfectly dry and hard, which whether done by any art or secret the savages may be possessed of, or occasioned by any drying virtue in the air of the cave, could not be guessed. Indeed, the surgeon finding nothing there to eat, which was his chief inducement for his creeping into this hole, did not amuse himself with long disquisitions, or make that accurate examination which he would have done at another time; but crawling out as he came in, he went and told the first he met of what he had seen. Some had the curiosity to go in likewise.

I had forgot to mention that there was another range of bodies deposited in the same manner upon another platform under the bier. Probably this was the burial-place of their great men called Caciques; but from whence they could be brought we were utterly at a loss to conceive, there being no traces of any Indian settlement hereabout. We had seen no savages since we left the island, or observed any marks in the coves or bays to the northward where we had touched, such as of fire-places or old wig-wams, which they never fail of leaving behind them; and it is very probable, from the violent seas that are always beating upon this coast, its deformed aspect, and the very swampy soil that every where borders upon it, that it is little frequented.

We now crossed the first bay for the head-land we left on Christmas-day, much dejected; for under our former sufferings we were in some measure supported with the hopes, that as we advanced, however little, they were so much the nearer their termination; but now our prospect was dismal and dispiriting indeed, as we had the same difficulties and dangers to encounter, not only without any flattering views to lessen them, but under the aggravating circumstance

circumstance of their leading to an inevitable and miserable death; for we could not possibly conceive that the fate of starving could be avoided by any human means, upon that desolate island we were returning to. The shell-fish, which was the only subsistence that island had hitherto afforded in any measure, was exhausted; and the Indians had shewn themselves so little affected by the common incitements of compassion, that we had no hopes to build upon any impressions of that sort in them. They had already refused to barter their dogs with us, for want of a valuable commodity on our side; so that it is wonderful we did not give ourselves up to despondency, and lay aside all farther attempts; but we were supported by that invisible Power, who can make the most untoward circumstances subservient to his gracious purposes.

At this time our usual bad weather attended us; the night too set in long before we could reach the cove we before had taken shelter in, so that we were obliged to keep the boat's head to the sea all night, the sea every where astern of us running over hideous breakers. In the morning, we designed standing over for that island in which we had observed those strait and lofty trees before-mentioned, and which Captain Cheap named Montrose Island; but as soon as we opened the head-land to the westward of us, a sudden squall took the boat, and very near overset her. We were instantly full of water; but by baling with our hats and hands, and any thing that would hold water, we with difficulty freed her. Under this alarming circumstance, we found it advisable to return back and put in to the cove which the night before we were prevented getting into. We were detained here two or three days by exceeding bad weather, so that had we not fortunately provided ourselves with some seal, we must have starved, for this place afforded us nothing.

At length we reached Montrose Island. This is by much the best and pleasantest spot we had seen in this part of the world, though it has nothing on it eatable but some berries, which resemble goose-berries in flavour: they are of a black hue, and grow in swampy ground; and the bush or tree that bears them, is much taller than that of our goose berries. We remained here some time, living upon these berries and the remainder of our seal, which was now grown quite rotten. Our two or three first at-

tempts to put out from this island were without success, the tempestuous weather obliging us to put back again. One of our people was much inclined to remain here, thinking it at least as good a place as Wager's Island to end his days upon; but he was obliged by the rest to go off with them. We had not been long out before it began to blow a storm of wind, and the mist came on so thick, that we could not see the land, and were at a loss which way to steer; but we heard the sea, which ran exceedingly high, breaking near us, upon which we immediately hauled aft the sheet, and hardly weathered the breakers by a boat's length. At the same time we shipped a sea that nearly filled us; it struck us with that violence as to throw me and one or two more down into the bottom of the boat, where we were half drowned before we could get up again. This was one of the most extraordinary escapes we had in the course of this expedition; for Captain Cheap and every one else had entirely given themselves up for lost. However, it pleased God that we got that evening into Red-wood Cove, where the weather continued so bad all night we could keep no fire in to dry ourselves with; but there being no other alternative for us but to stay here and starve, or put to sea again, we chose the latter, and put out in the morning again, though the weather was very little mended.

In three or four days after, we arrived at our old station, Wager's Island, but in such a miserable plight, that though we thought our condition upon setting out would not admit of any additional circumstance of misery, yet it was to be envied in comparison of what we now suffered, so worn and reduced were we by fatigue and hunger, having eat nothing for some days but sea-weed and tangle. Upon this expedition, we had been out, by our account, just two months; in which we had rounded, backwards and forwards, the great bay formed to the northward by that high land we had observed from Mount Misery.

The first thing we did upon our arrival was to secure the barge, as this was our sole dependence for any relief that might offer by sea; which done, we repaired to our huts, which formed a kind of village or street, consisting of several irregular habitations, some of which being covered by a kind of brush-wood thatch, afforded tolerable shelter against the inclemency of the weather. Among these, there was one which we observed with some surprise to be nailed

up.

up. We broke it open, and found some iron-work, picked out with much pains from those pieces of the wreck which were driven ashore. We concluded from hence, that the Indians who had been here in our absence were not of that tribe with which we had some commerce before, who seemed to set no value upon iron, but from some other quarter; and must have had communication with the Spaniards, from whom they had learned the value and use of that commodity.

Thieving from strangers is a commendable talent among savages in general, and bespeaks an address which they much admire; though the strictest honesty with regard to the property of each other is observed among them. There is no doubt but they ransacked all our houses, but the men had taken care before they went off in the long-boat to strip them of their most valuable furniture, that is, the bales of cloth used for lining, and converted them into trowsers and watch-coats. Upon farther search, we found, thrown aside in the bushes at the back of one of the huts, some pieces of seal in a very putrid condition, which, however, our stomachs were far from loathing. The next business which the people set about very seriously, was to proceed to Mount Misery, and bury the corpse of the murdered person mentioned to have been discovered there some little time after our being cast away; for to the neglect of this necessary tribute to that unfortunate person the men assigned all their ill success upon the late expedition.

That common people in general are addicted to superstitious conceits, is an observation founded on experience, and the reason is evident; but I cannot allow that common seamen are more so than others of the lower class. In the most enlightened ages of antiquity, we find it to have been the popular opinion, that the spirits of the dead were not at rest till their bodies were interred; and that they did not cease to haunt and trouble those who had neglected this duty to the departed. This is still believed by the vulgar in most countries; and in our men this persuasion was much heightened by the melancholy condition they were reduced to, and was farther confirmed by an occurrence which happened some little time before we went upon our last expedition. One night we were alarmed with a strange cry, which resembled that of a man drowning. Many of us ran out of our huts towards the place from whence the

noise

noise proceeded, which was not far off shore, where we could perceive, but not distinctly, (for it was then moonlight) an appearance like that of a man swimming half out of water. The noise that this creature uttered was so unlike that of any animal they had heard before, that it made a great impression upon the men; and they frequently recalled this apparition at the time of their distresses, with reflections on the neglect of the office they were now fulfilling.

We were soon driven again to the greatest straits for want of something to subsist upon, by the extreme bad weather that now set in upon us. Wild sellery was all we could procure, which raked our stomachs instead of assuaging our hunger. That dreadful and last resource of men, in not much worse circumstances than ours, of consigning one man to death for the support of the rest, began to be mentioned in whispers; and indeed there were some among us who, by eating what they found raw, were become little better than cannibals. But fortunately for us, and opportunely to prevent this horrid proceeding, Mr Hamilton at this time found some rotten pieces of beef cast up by the sea at some miles distance from the huts, which he, though a temptation which few would have resisted in parallel circumstances, scorned to conceal from the rest, but generously distributed among us.

A few days after, the mystery of the nailing up of the hut, and what had been doing by the Indians upon the island in our absence, was partly explained to us; for about the 15th day after our return, there came a party of Indians to the island in two canoes, who were not a little surprised to find us here again. Among these, was an Indian of the tribe of the Chonos, who live in the neighbourhood of Chiloe.[1] He talked the Spanish language, but with that savage accent which renders it almost unintelligible to any but those who are adepts in that language. He was likewise a cacique, or leading man of his tribe, which authority was confirmed to him by the Spaniards; for he carried the usual badge and mark of distinction by which the Spaniards and their dependants hold their military and civil employments, which is a stick with a silver head. These badges,

[1] Chiloe is an island on the western coast of America, situated in 42° 40 of S. latitude, and the southernmost settlement under the Spanish jurisdiction on that coast.

badges, of which the Indians are very vain, at once serve to retain the cacique in the strongest attachment to the Spanish government, and give him greater weight with his own dependants: yet, withal, he is the merest slave, and has not one thing he can call his own.

This report of our shipwreck (as we supposed) having reached the Chonos, by means of the intermediate tribes, which handed it to one another from those Indians who first visited us, this cacique was either sent to learn the truth of the rumour, or, having first got the intelligence, set out with a view of making some advantage of the wreck, and appropriating such iron-work as he could gather from it to his own use; for that metal is become very valuable to those savages, since their commerce with the Spaniards has taught them to apply it to several purposes. But as the secreting any thing from a rapacious Spanish rey or governor (even an old rusty nail) by any of their Indian dependants, is a very dangerous offence, he was careful to conceal the little prize he had made till he could conveniently carry it away; for in order to make friends of these savages, we had left their hoard untouched.

Our surgeon, Mr Elliot, being master of a few Spanish words, made himself so far understood by the cacique, as to let him know that our intention was to reach some of the Spanish settlements if we could; that we were unacquainted with the best and safest way, and what track was most likely to afford us subsistence in our journey; promising, if he would undertake to conduct us in the barge, he should have it and every thing in it for his trouble as soon as it had served our present occasions. To these conditions the cacique, after much persuasion, at length agreed. Accordingly, having made the best preparation we could, we embarked on board the barge to the number of fifteen, including the cacique, whose name was Martin, and his servant Emanuel. We were, indeed, sixteen when we returned from our last fruitless attempt to get off the island, but we had buried two since that, who perished with hunger; and a marine, having committed theft, ran away to avoid the punishment his crime deserved, and hid himself in the woods, since which he was never heard of. We now put off, accompanied with the two Indian canoes, in one of which was a savage with his two wives, who had an air of dignity superior to the rest, and was handsome in his per-

son.

son. He had his hut, during his stay with us, separate from the other Indians, who seemed to pay him extraordinary respect; but in two or three nights, these Indians, being independent of the Spaniards, and living somewhere to the southward of our Chonos guide, left us to proceed on our journey by ourselves.

The first night we lay at an island destitute of all refreshment, where having found some shelter for our boat and made ourselves a fire, we slept by it. The next night we were more unfortunate, though our wants were increasing, for, having run to the westward of Montrose Island, we found no shelter for the barge, but were under the necessity of lying upon our oars, suffering the most extreme pangs of hunger. The next day brought us to the bottom of a great bay, where the Indian guide had left his family, a wife and two children, in a hut. Here we staid two or three days, during which we were constantly employed in ranging along shore in quest of shell-fish.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Navigation of the River.—One of our Men dies from Fatigue. —Inhumanity of the Captain.—Description of our Passage through a horrible and desolate Country.—Our Conductor leaves us, and a Party of our Men desert with the Boat.—Dreadful Situation of the Remainder.—The Cacique returns. —Account of our Journey Overland.—Kindness of two Indian Women.—Description of the Indian Mode of Fishing. —Cruel Treatment of my Indian Benefactress by her Husband.*

We now again proceeded on our voyage, having received on board the family of our guide, who conducted us to a river, the stream of which was so rapid, that, after our utmost efforts from morning to evening, we gained little upon the current, and at last were obliged to desist from our attempt, and return. I had hitherto steered the boat, but

but one of our men sinking under the fatigue, expired soon after, which obliged me to take the oar in his room, and row against this heart-breaking stream. Whilst I was thus employed, one of our men, whose name was John Bosman, though hitherto the stoutest man among us, fell from his seat under the thwarts, complaining that his strength was quite exhausted for want of food, and that he should die very shortly. As he lay in this condition, he would every now and then break out in the most pathetic wishes for some little sustenance, that two or three mouthfuls might be the means of saving his life. The captain at this time had a large piece of boiled seal by him, and was the only one that was provided with any thing like a meal; but we were become so hardened against the impressions of others sufferings by our own, so familiarized to scenes of this and every other kind of misery, that the poor man's dying entreaties were vain. I sat next to him when he dropped, and having a few dried shell-fish (about five or six) in my pocket, from time to time put one in his mouth, which served only to prolong his pains; from which, however, soon after my little supply failed, he was released by death. For this, and another man I mentioned a little before to have expired under the like circumstances, when we returned from this unsuccessful enterprize, we made a grave in the sands.

It would have redounded greatly to the tenderness and humanity of Captain Cheap, if at this time he had remitted somewhat of that attention he shewed to self-preservation, which is hardly allowable but where the consequence of relieving others must be immediately and manifestly fatal to ourselves; but I would venture to affirm, that in these last affecting exigencies, as well as some others, a sparing perhaps adequate to the emergency, might have been admitted consistently with a due regard to his own necessities. The captain had better opportunities of recruiting his stock than any of us; for his rank was considered by the Indian as a reason for supplying him when he would not find a bit for us. Upon the evening of the day in which these disasters happened, the captain producing a large piece of boiled seal, suffered no one to partake with him but the surgeon, who was the only man in favour at this time. We did not expect, indeed, any relief from him in our present condition, for we had a few small mussels and herbs to eat; but the men could not help expressing the greatest

greatest indignation at his neglect of the deceased, saying, that he deserved to be deserted by the rest for his savage behaviour.

The endeavouring to pass up this river was for us, who had so long struggled with hunger, a most unseasonable attempt, by which we were harassed to a degree that threatened to be fatal to more of us; but our guide, without any respect to the condition our hardships had reduced us to, was very solicitous for us to go that way, which possibly he had gone before in light canoes, but for such a boat as ours was impracticable. We conceived, therefore, at that time, that this was some short cut, which was to bring us forward in our voyage; but we had reason to think afterwards, that the greater probability there was of his getting the barge, which was the wages of his undertaking, safe to his settlement by this, rather than another course, was his motive for preferring it to the way we took afterwards, where there was a carrying place of considerable length, over which it would have been impossible to have carried our boat.

The country hereabouts wears the most uncouth, desolate, and rugged aspect imaginable; it is so circumstanced as to discourage the most sanguine adventurers from attempts to settle in it: Were it for no other reason than the constant heavy rains, or rather torrents, which pour down here, and the vast sea and surf which the prevailing westerly winds impel upon this coast, it must be rendered inhospitable. All entrance into the woods is not only extremely difficult, but hazardous, not from any assaults you are likely to meet with from wild beasts, for even these could hardly find convenient harbour here, but from the deep swamp, which is the reigning soil of this country, and in which the woods may be said rather to float than grow; so that, except upon a range of deformed broken rocks which form the sea-coast, the traveller cannot find sound footing any where. With this unpromising scene before us we were now setting out in search of food, which nothing but the most pressing instances of hunger could induce us to do: We had, indeed, the young Indian servant to our cacique for our conductor, who was left by him to show us where the shell-fish was most plenty. The cacique was gone with the rest of his family in the canoe, with a view of getting some

some seal, upon a trip which would detain him from us three or four days.

After searching the coast some time with very little success, we began to think of returning to the barge; but six of the men, with the Indian, having advanced some few paces before the officers, got into the boat first, which they had no sooner done than they put off and left us, to return no more. And now all the difficulties we had hitherto endured seemed light in comparison of what we expected to suffer from this treachery of our men, who, with the boat, had taken away every thing that might be the means of preserving our lives. The little clothes we had saved from the wreck, our muskets and ammunition, were gone, except a little powder, which must be preserved for kindling fires, and one gun which I had, and was now become useless for want of ammunition; and all these wants were now come upon us at a time when we could not be worse situated for supplying them. Yet under these dismal and forlorn appearances was our delivery now preparing; and from these hopeless circumstances were we to draw hereafter an instance scarce to be paralleled, of the unsearchable ways of Providence.

It was at that time little suspected by us, that the barge, in which we founded all our hopes of escaping from this savage coast, would certainly have proved the fatal cause of detaining us till we were consumed by the labour and hardships requisite to row her round the capes and great headlands; for it was impossible to carry her by land as we did the boats of the Indians At present, no condition could be worse than we thought ours to be: There ran at this time a very high sea, which breaking with great fury upon this coast, made it very improbable that sustenance in any proportion to our wants could be found upon it; yet unpromising as this prospect was, and though little succour could be expected from this quarter, I could not help, as I strolled along shore from the rest, casting my eyes towards the sea. Continuing thus to look out, I thought I saw something now and then upon the top of a sea that looked black, which, upon observing still more intently, I imagined at last to be a canoe; but reflecting afterwards how unusual it was for Indians to venture out in so mountainous a sea, and at such a distance from the land, I concluded myself to be deceived. However, its nearer approach

proach convinced me, beyond all doubt, of its being a canoe; but that it could not put in any where hereabouts, but intended for some other part of the coast. I ran back as fast as I could to my companions, and acquainted them with what I had seen.

The despondency they were in would not allow them to give credit to it at first; but afterwards, being convinced that it was as I reported it, we were all in the greatest hurry to strip off some of our rags to make a signal withal, which we fixed upon a long pole. This had the desired effect: The people in the canoe seeing the signal, made towards the land at about two miles distance from us, for no boat could approach the land where we were. There they put into a small cove, sheltered by a large ledge of rocks without, which broke the violence of the sea. Captain Cheap and I walked along shore, and got to the cove about the time they landed. Here we found the persons arrived in this canoe to be our Indian guide and his wife, who had left us some days before. He would have asked us many questions, but neither Captain Cheap nor I understanding Spanish at that time, we took him along with us to the surgeon, whom we had left so ill that he could hardly raise himself from the ground.

When the Indian began to confer with the surgeon, the first question was, What was become of the barge and his companions? and as he could give him no satisfactory answer to this question, the Indian took it for granted that Emanuel was murdered by us, and that he and his family ran the same risk; upon which he was preparing to provide for his security, by leaving us directly. The surgeon seeing this, did all in his power to pacify him, and convince him of the unreasonableness of his apprehensions, which he at length found means to do, by assuring him that the Indian would come to no harm, but that he would soon see him return safe: which providentially, and beyond our expectation, happened accordingly, for in a few days after, Emanuel, having contrived to make his escape from the people in the barge, returned by ways that were impassable to any creature but an Indian. All that we could learn from Emanuel relative to his escape was, that he took the first opportunity of leaving them, which was upon their putting into a bay somewhere to the westward.

We had but one gun among us, and that was a small fowling-

fowling-piece of mine; no ammunition but a few charges of powder I had about me; and as the Indian was very desirous of returning to the place where he had left his wife and canoe, Captain Cheap desired I would go with him and watch over him all night, to prevent his getting away. Accordingly I set out with him, and when he and his family betook themselves to rest in the little wigwam they had made for that purpose, I kept my station as centinel over them all night.

The next morning Captain Cheap, Mr Hamilton, and the surgeon joined us; the latter, by illness, being reduced to the most feeble condition, was supported by Mr Hamilton and Mr Campbell. After holding some little consultation together, as to the best manner of proceeding in our journey, it was agreed, that the Indian should haul his canoe, with our assistance, over land, quite across the island we were then upon, and put her into a bay on the other side, from whence he was to go in quest of some other Indians by whom he expected to be joined; but as his canoe was too small to carry more than three or four persons, he thought it advisable to take only Captain Cheap and myself with him, and to leave his wife and children as pledges with our companions till his return.

As it was matter of uncertainty whether we should ever recover the barge or not, which was stipulated, on our side, to become the property of the cacique upon his fulfilling his engagements with us; the inducements we now made use of to prevail upon him to proceed with us in our journey were, that he should have my fowling-piece, some little matters in the possession of Captain Cheap, and that we would use our interest to procure him some small pecuniary reward.

We were now to set off in the canoe, in which I was to assist him in rowing. Accordingly, putting from this island, we rowed hard all this day and the next, without any thing to eat but a scrap of seal, a very small portion of which fell to my share. About two hours after the close of the day, we put ashore, where we discovered six or seven wigwams. For my part, my strength was so exhausted with fatigue and hunger, that it would have been impossible for me to have held out another day at this toilsome work. As soon as we landed, the Indian conducted Captain Cheap with him into a wigwam, but I was left to shift for myself.

Thus

Thus left, I was for some time at a loss what I had best do, for knowing that in the variety of dispositions observable among the Indians, the surly and savage temper is the most prevalent, I had good reason to conclude, that if I obtruded myself upon them, my reception would be but indifferent. Necessity, however, put me upon the risk; I accordingly pushed into the next wigwam upon my hands and knees, for the entrance into these kind of buildings is too low to admit of any other manner of getting into them. To give a short description of these temporary houses called wigwams, may not be improper here, for the satisfaction of those who never saw any, especially as they differ somewhat from those of North America, which are more generally known from the numerous accounts of that country.

When the Indians of this part of the world have occasion to stop any where in their rambles, if it be only for a night or two, the men, who take this business upon them, while the women are employed in much more laborious offices, such as diving in the sea for sea-eggs, and searching the rocks for shell-fish, getting fuel, &c., repair to the woods, and cutting a sufficient number of tall, strait branches, fix them in an irregular kind of circle of uncertain dimensions; which having done, they bend the extremities of these branches so as to meet in a centre at top, where they bind them by a kind of woodbine called supple-jack, which they split by holding it in their teeth. This frame, or skeleton of a hut, is made tight against the weather with a covering of boughs and bark; but as the bark is not got without some trouble, they generally take it with them when they remove, putting it at the bottom of their canoes: The rest of the wigwam they leave standing. The fire is made in the middle of the wigwam, round which they sit upon boughs; and as there is no vent for the smoke besides the door-way, which is very low, except through some crevices which cannot easily be stopped, they are not a little incommoded on that account, and the eyes of some of them are much affected by it.

But to return. In this wigwam, into which I took the liberty to introduce myself, I found only two women, who, upon first seeing a figure they were not accustomed to, and such a figure too as I then made, were struck with astonishment. They were sitting by a fire, to which I approached without any apology. However inclined I might have been

to

to make one, my ignorance of their language made it impossible to attempt it. One of these women appeared to be young, and very handsome for an Indian; the other old, and as frightful as it is possible to conceive any thing in human shape to be. Having stared at me some little time, they both went out; and I, without farther ceremony, sat me down by the fire to warm myself and dry the rags I wore. Yet I cannot say my situation was very easy, as I expected every instant to see two or three men come in and thrust me out, if they did not deal with me in a rougher manner.

Soon after, the two women came in again, having, as I supposed, conferred with the Indian our conductor; and, appearing to be in great good humour, began to chatter and laugh immoderately. Perceiving the wet and cold condition I was in, they seemed to have compassion on me, and the old woman went out and brought some wood, with which she made a good fire; but my hunger being impatient, I could not forbear expressing my desire that they would extend their hospitality a little farther, and bring me something so eat. They soon comprehended my meaning, and the younger beginning to rummage under some pieces of bark that lay in the corner of the wigwam, produced a fine large fish; this they presently put upon the fire to broil, and when it was just warm through, they made a sign for me to eat. They had no need to repeat the invitation; I fell to, and dispatched it in so short a time, that I was in hopes they would comprehend, without further tokens, that I was ready for another; but it was of no consequence, for their stock of eatables was entirely exhausted.

After sitting some time in conference together, in which conversation I could bear no part, the women made some signs to me to lay down and go to sleep, first having strewed some dry boughs upon the ground. I laid myself down, and soon fell fast asleep; and about three or four hours after awaking, I found myself covered with a bit of blanket, made of the down of birds, which the women usually wear about their waist. The young woman, who had carefully covered me, whilst sleeping, with her own blanket, was lying close by me; the old woman lay on the other side of her. The fire was low and almost burnt out; but as soon as they found me awake they renewed it, by putting on more fuel. What I had hitherto eat served only to sharpen my

my appetite; I could not help, therefore, being earnest with them to get me some more victuals. Having understood my necessities, they talked together some little time; after which getting up, they both went out, taking with them a couple of dogs, which they train to assist them in fishing. After an hour's absence they came in trembling with cold, and their hair streaming with water, and brought two fish, which having broiled, they gave me the largest share, and then we all lay down as before to rest.

In the morning, my curiosity led me to visit the neighbouring wigwams, in which were only one or two men, the rest of the inhabitants were all women and children. I then proceeded to enquire after Captain Cheap and our Indian guide, whom I found in the wigwam they at first occupied: The authority of the cacique had procured the captain no despicable entertainment. We could not learn what business the men, whose wives and children were here left behind, were gone out upon; but as they seldom or never go upon fishing parties (for they have no hunting here) without their wives, who take the most laborious part of this pursuit upon themselves, it is probable they were gone upon some warlike expedition, in which they use bows and arrows sometimes, but always the lance. This weapon they throw with great dexterity and force, and never stir abroad without it.

About this time their return was looked for, a hearing by no means pleasant to me; I was therefore determined to enjoy myself as long as they were absent, and make the most of the good fare I was possessed of, to the pleasure of which I thought a little cleanliness might in some measure contribute; I therefore went to a brook, and taking off my shirt, which might be said to be alive with vermin, set myself about to wash it; which having done as well as I could, and hung on a bush to dry, I heard a bustle about the wigwams, and soon perceived that the women were preparing to depart, having stripped their wigwams of their bark covering, and carried it into their canoes. Putting on, therefore, my shirt just as it was, I hastened to join them, having a great desire of being present at one of their fishing parties.

It was my lot to be put into the canoe with my two patronesses and some others who assisted in rowing; we were

in all four canoes. After rowing some time, they gained such an offing as they required, where the water here was about eight or ten fathoms deep, and there lay upon their oars. And now the youngest of the two women, taking a basket in her mouth, jumped overboard, and diving to the bottom, continued under water an amazing time; when she had filled the basket with sea-eggs, she came up to the boat-side, and delivering it so filled to the other women in the boat, they took out the contents and returned it to her. The diver then, after having taken a short time to breathe, went down and up again with the same success, and so several times for the space of half an hour. It seems as if Providence had endued this people with a kind of amphibious nature, as the sea is the only source from whence almost all their subsistence is derived. This element too, being here very boisterous, and falling with a most heavy surf upon a rugged coast, very little, except some seal, is to be got any where but in the quiet bosom of the deep. What occasions this reflection, is the early propensity I had so frequently observed in the children of these savages to this occupation, who, even at the age of three years, might be seen crawling upon their hands and knees among the rocks and breakers, from which they would tumble themselves into the sea without regard to the cold, which is here often intense, and shewing no fear of the noise and roaring of the surf.

This sea-egg is a shell-fish, from which several prickles project in all directions, by means whereof it removes itself from place to place. In it are found four or five yolks, resembling the inner divisions of an orange, which are of a very nutritive quality and excellent flavour.

The water was at this time extremely cold, and when the divers got into the boats, they seemed greatly benumbed; and it is usual with them after this exercise, if they are near enough their wigwams, to run to the fire, to which presenting one side, they rub and chafe it for some time; then turning the other, use it in the same manner till the circulation of the blood is restored. This practice, if it has no worse effect, must occasion their being more susceptible of the impressions of cold than if they waited the gradual advances of their natural warmth in the open air. I leave it to the decision of the gentlemen of the faculty, whether this too hasty approach to the fire may not subject them

to

to a disorder I have observed among them, called the elephantiasis, or swelling of the legs.[1]

The divers having returned to their boats, we continued to row till towards evening, when we landed upon a low point. As soon as the canoes were hauled up, they employed themselves in erecting their wigwams, which they dispatch with great address and quickness. I still enjoyed the protection of my two good Indian women, who made me their guest here as before; they first regaled me with sea-eggs, and then went out upon another kind of fishery by the means of dogs and nets. These dogs are a cur-like looking animal, but very sagacious, and easily trained to this business. Though in appearance an uncomfortable sort of sport, yet they engage in it readily, seem to enjoy it much, and express their eagerness by barking every time they raise their heads above the water to breathe. The net is held by two Indians, who get into the water; then the dogs, taking a large compass, dive after the fish, and drive them into the net; but it is only in particular places that the fish are taken in this manner. At the close of the evening, the women brought in two fish, which served us for supper, and then we reposed ourselves as before. Here we remained all the next day, and the morning after embarked again, and rowed till noon; then landing, we descried the canoes of the Indian men, who had been some time expected from an expedition they had been upon. This was soon to make a great alteration in the situation of my affairs, a presage of which I could read in the melancholy countenance of my young hostess. She endeavoured to express herself in very earnest terms to me, but I had not yet acquired a competent knowledge of the Indian language to understand her.

As soon as the men were landed, she and the old Indian woman

[1] There are two very different disorders incident to the human body, which bear the same name, derived from some resemblance they hold with different parts of the animal so well known in the countries to which these disorders are peculiar. That which was first so named is the leprosy, which brings a scurf on the skin not unlike the hide of an elephant. The other affects the patient with such enormous swelling of the legs and feet, that they give the idea of those shapeless pillars which support that creature; and therefore this disease has also been called elephantiasis by the Arabian physicians; who, together with the Malabrians, among whom it is endemial, attribute it to the drinking bad waters, and the too sudden transitions from heat to cold.

woman went up, not without some marks of dread upon them, to an elderly Indian man, whose remarkably surly and stern countenance was well calculated to raise such sensations in his dependants. He seemed to be a cacique or chief man among them, by the airs of importance he assumed to himself, and the deference paid him by the rest. After some little conference passed between these Indians and our cacique conductor, of which, most probably, the circumstances of our history and the occasion of our coming here might be the chief subject, for they fixed their eyes constantly upon us, they applied themselves to building their wigwams.

I now understood that the two Indian women with whom I had sojourned were wives to this chieftain, though one was young enough to be his daughter; and as far as I could learn, did really stand in the different relations to him both of daughter and wife. It was easy to be perceived that all did not go well between them at this time, either that he was not satisfied with the answers that they returned him to his questions, or that he suspected some misconduct on their side; for presently after breaking out into savage fury, he took the young one up in his arms, and threw her with violence against the stones; but his brutal resentment did not stop here, he beat her afterwards in a cruel manner. I could not see this treatment of my benefactress without the highest concern for her, and rage against the author of it; especially as the natural jealousy of these people gave occasion to think that it was on my account she suffered. I could hardly suppress the first emotions of my resentment, which prompted me to return him his barbarity in his own kind; but besides that this might have drawn upon her fresh marks of his severity, it was neither politic, nor indeed in my power, to have done it to any good purpose at this time.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Cacique's Conduct changes.—Description of the Indian Mode of Bird-fowling.—Their Religion.—Mr Elliot, our Surgeon, dies.—Transactions on our Journey.—Miserable Situation to which we are reduced.*

OUR cacique now made us understand that we must embark directly in the same canoe which brought us, and return to our companions; and that the Indians we were about to leave would join us in a few days, when we should all set out in a body, in order to proceed to the northward. In our way back nothing very material happened; but upon our arrival, which was the next day, we found Mr Elliot, the surgeon, in a very bad way; his illness had been continually increasing since we left him. Mr Hamilton and Mr Campbell were almost starved, having fared very ill since we left them; a few sea-eggs were all the subsistence they had lived upon, and these procured by the cacique's wife in the manner I mentioned before. This woman was the very reverse of my hostess; and as she found her husband was of so much consequence to us, took upon her with much haughtiness, and treated us as dependants and slaves. He was not more engaging in his carriage towards us; he would give no part of what he had to spare to any but Captain Cheap, whom his interest led him to prefer to the rest, though our wants were often greater. The captain, on his part, contributed to keep us in this abject situation, by approving this distinction the cacique shewed to him. Had he treated us with not quite so much distance, the cacique might have been more regardful of our wants. The little regard and attention which our necessitous condition drew from Captain Cheap, may be imputed likewise, in some measure, to the effects of a mind soured by a series of crosses and disappointments; which, indeed, had operated on us all to a great neglect of each other, and sometimes of ourselves.

We were not suffered to be in the same wigwam with the cacique and his wife, which, if we had had any countenance from Captain Cheap, would not have been refused. What we

we had made for ourselves was in such a bungling manner, that it scarce deserved the name even of this wretched sort of habitation. But our untoward circumstances now found some relief in the arrival of the Indians we waited for, who brought with them some seal, a small portion of which fell to our share. A night or two after, they sent out some of their young men, who procured us a quantity of a very delicate kind of birds, called shags and cormorants. Their manner of taking these birds resembles something a sport called bat-fowling. They find out their haunts among the rocks and cliffs in the night, when, taking with them torches made of the bark of the birch tree, which is common here, and grows to a very large size, (this bark has a very unctuous quality, and emits a bright and clear light, and in the northern parts of America is used frequently instead of a candle) they bring the boat's side as near as possible to the rocks, under the roosting-places of these birds, then waving their lights backwards and forwards, the birds are dazzled and confounded so as to fall into the canoe, where they are instantly knocked on the head with a short stick the Indians take with them for that purpose.

Seal are taken in some less-frequented parts of these coasts with great ease; but when their haunts have been two or three times disturbed, they soon learn to provide for their safety, by repairing to the water upon the first alarm. This is the case with them hereabouts; but as they frequently raise their heads above water, either to breathe or look about them, I have seen an Indian at this interval throw his lance with such dexterity, as to strike the animal through both its eyes at a great distance; and it is very seldom that they miss their aim.

As we were wholly unacquainted with these methods of providing food for ourselves, and were without arms and ammunition, we were drove to the utmost straits, and found ourselves rather in worse condition than we had been at any time before; for the Indians, having now nothing to fear from us, we found we had nothing to expect from them upon any other motive. Accordingly, if they ever did relieve us, it was through caprice; for at most times they would shew themselves unconcerned at our greatest distresses. But the good Indian women, whose friendship I had experienced before, continued, from time to time, their good offices to me. Though I was not suffered to enter

ter their wigwams, they would find opportunities of throwing in my way such scraps as they could secrete from their husbands. The obligation I was under to them on this account is great, as the hazard they ran in conferring these favours was little less than death. The men, unrestrained by any laws or ties of conscience in the management of their own families, exercise a most despotic authority over their wives, whom they consider in the same view they do any other part of their property, and dispose of them accordingly: Even their common treatment of them is cruel; for though the toil and hazard of procuring food lies entirely upon the women, yet they are not suffered to touch any part of it till the husband is satisfied, and then he assigns them their portion, which is generally very scanty, and such as he has not a stomach for himself. This arbitrary proceeding, with respect to their own families, is not peculiar to this people only. I have had occasion to observe it in more instances than this I have mentioned, among many other nations of savages I have since seen.

These Indians are of a middling stature, well set, and very active, and make their way among the rocks with an amazing agility. Their feet, by this kind of exercise, contract a callosity which renders the use of shoes quite unnecessary to them. But before I conclude the few observations I have to make on a people so confined in all their notions and practice, it may be expected I should say something of their religion; but as their gross ignorance is in nothing more conspicuous, and as we found it advisable to keep out of their way when the fits of devotion came upon them, which is rather frantic than religious, the reader can expect very little satisfaction on this head. Accident has sometimes made me unavoidably a spectator of scenes I should have chosen to have withdrawn myself from; and so far I am instructed. As there are no fixed seasons for their religious exercises, the younger people wait till the elders find themselves devoutly disposed, who begin the ceremony by several deep and dismal groans, which rise gradually to a hideous kind of singing, from which they proceed to enthusiasm, and work themselves into a disposition that borders on madness; for, suddenly jumping up, they snatch fire-brands from the fire, put them in their mouths, and run about burning every body they come near; at other times it is a custom with them to wound one another

ther with sharp mussel-shells till they are besmeared with blood. These orgies continue till those who preside in them foam at the mouth, grow faint, are exhausted with fatigue, and dissolve in a profusion of sweat. When the men drop their part in this frenzy, the women take it up, acting over again much the same kind of wild scene, except that they rather outdo the men in shrieks and noise. Our cacique, who had been reclaimed from these abominations by the Spaniards, and just knew the exterior form of crossing himself, pretended to be much offended at these profane ceremonies, and that he would have died sooner than have partaken of them. Among other expressions of his disapprobation, he declared, that whilst the savages solemnized these horrid rites, he never failed to hear strange and uncommon noises in the woods, and to see frightful visions, and assured us that the devil was the chief actor among them upon these occasions.

It might be about the middle of March that we embarked with these Indians. They separated our little company entirely, not putting any two of us together in the same canoe. The oar was my lot, as usual, as also Mr Campbell's; Mr Hamilton could not row, and Captain Cheap was out of the question; our surgeon was more dead than alive at the time, and lay at the bottom of the canoe he was in. The weather coming on too bad for their canoes to keep the sea, we landed again, without making any great progress that day. Here Mr Elliot, our surgeon, died. At our first setting out, he promised the fairest for holding out, being a very strong active young man: He had gone through an infinite deal of fatigue, as Mr Hamilton and he were the best shots amongst us, and whilst our ammunition lasted never spared themselves, and in a great measure provided for the rest; but he died the death many others had done before him, being quite starved. We scraped a hole for him in the sand, and buried him in the best manner we could.

Here I must relate a little anecdote of our Christian cacique. He and his wife had gone off at some distance from the shore in their canoe, when she dived for sea-eggs; but not meeting with great success, they returned a good deal out of humour. A little boy of theirs, about three years old, whom they appeared to be doatingly fond of, watching for his father and mother's return, ran into the surf to meet

them:

them: The father handed a basket of sea-eggs to the child, which being too heavy for him to carry, he let it fall; upon which the father jumped out of the canoe, and catching the boy up in his arms, dashed him with the utmost violence against the stones. The poor little creature lay motionless and bleeding, and in that condition was taken up by the mother, but died soon after. She appeared inconsolable for some time, but the brute his father shewed little concern about it.

A day or two after we put to sea again, and crossed the great bay I mentioned we had been to the bottom of, when we first hauled away to the westward. The land here was very low and sandy, with something like the mouth of a river, which discharged itself into the sea, and which had been taken no notice of by us before, as it was so shallow that the Indians were obliged to take every thing out of their canoes, and carry it over the neck of land, and then haul the boats over into a river which at this part of it was very broad, more resembling a lake than a river. We rowed up it for four or five leagues, and then took into a branch of it, that ran first to the eastward, and then to the northward: Here it became much narrower, and the stream excessively rapid, so that we made but little way, though we worked very hard. At night we landed upon its banks, and had a most uncomfortable lodging, it being a perfect swamp; and we had nothing to cover us, though it rained very hard. The Indians were little better off than we, as there was no wood here to make their wigwams; so that all they could do was to prop up the bark they carry in the bottom of their canoes with their oars, and shelter themselves as well as they could to leeward of it. They, knowing the difficulties that were to be encountered here, had provided themselves with some seal; but we had not the least morsel to eat, after the heavy fatigues of the day, excepting a sort of root we saw some of the Indians make use of, which was very disagreeable to the taste. We laboured all the next day against the stream, and fared as we had done the day before. The next day brought us to the carrying-place. Here was plenty of wood, but nothing to be got for sustenance.

The first thing the Indians did was to take every thing out of their canoes, and after hauling them ashore, they made their wigwams. We passed this night, as generally

we

we had done, under a tree; but what we suffered at this time is not easily to be expressed. I had been three days at the oar without any kind of nourishment but the wretched root I mentioned before. I had no shirt, as mine was rotted off by bits, and we were devoured by vermin. All my clothes consisted of an old short grieko, which is something like a bearskin with a piece of a waistcoat under it, which once had been of red cloth, both which I had on when I was cast away; I had a ragged pair of trowsers, without either shoe or stocking.

The first thing the Indians did in the morning was to take their canoes to pieces; and here, for the information of the reader, it will be necessary to describe the structure of these boats, which are extremely well calculated for the use of these Indians, as they are frequently obliged to carry them over land a long way together, through thick woods, to avoid doubling capes and head-lands, in seas where no open boats could live. They generally consist of five pieces or planks, one for the bottom, and two for each side; and as these people have no iron tools, the labour must be great in hacking a single plank out of a large tree with shells and flints, though with the help of fire. Along the edges of the plank, they make small holes, at about an inch from one to the other, and sew them together with the supple-jack or woodbine; but as these holes are not filled up by the substance of the woodbine, their boats would be immediately full of water if they had not a method of preventing it. They do this very effectually by the bark of a tree, which they first steep in water for some time, and then beat it between two stones till it answers the use of oakum, and then chinse each hole so well, that they do not admit of the least water coming through, and are easily taken asunder and put together again. When they have occasion to go over land, as at this time, each man or woman carries a plank, whereas it would be impossible for them to drag a heavy boat entire.

Every body had something to carry except Captain Cheap, and he was obliged to be assisted, or never would have got over this march; for a worse than this I believe never was made. He, with the others, set out some time before me. I waited for two Indians who belonged to the canoe I came in, and who remained to carry over the last of the things from the side we were on. I had a piece of wet heavy

canvas

canvas which belonged to Captain Cheap, with a bit of stinking seal wrapped in it, (which had been given him that morning by some of the Indians) to carry upon my head, which was a sufficient weight for a strong man in health through such roads, and a grievous burthen to one in my condition.

Our way was through a thick wood, the bottom of which was a mere quagmire, most part of it up to our knees, and often to our middle, and every now and then we had a large tree to get over, for they often lay directly in our road. Besides this, we were continually treading upon the stumps of trees, which were not to be avoided, as they were covered with water; and having neither shoe nor stocking, my feet and legs were frequently torn and wounded. Before I had got half a mile the two Indians had left me, and making the best of my way lest they should be all gone before I got to the other side, I fell off a tree that crossed the road into a very deep swamp, where I very narrowly escaped drowning, by the weight of the burthen I had on my head. It was a long while before I could extricate myself from this difficulty, and when I did, my strength was quite exhausted. I sat down under a tree, and there gave way to melancholy reflections. However, as I was sensible these reflections would answer no end, they did not last long. I got up, and marking a great tree, I then deposited my load, not being able to carry it any farther, and set out to join my company.

It was some hours before I reached my companions. I found them sitting under a tree, and sat myself down by them without speaking a word; nor did they speak to me, as I remember, for some time, when Captain Cheap breaking silence, began to ask after the seal and piece of canvas. I told him the disaster I had met with, which he might have easily guessed by the condition the rags I had on were in, as well as having my feet and ancles cut to pieces; but, instead of compassion for my sufferings, I heard nothing but grumbling from every one for the irreparable loss they had sustained by me. I made no answer, but after resting myself a little, I got up and struck into the wood, and walked back at least five miles to the tree I had marked, and returned just time enough to deliver it before my companions embarked, with the Indians, upon a great lake, the opposite part of which seemed to wash the foot of the Cor-

dilleras.

dilleras. I wanted to embark with them, but was given to understand I was to wait for some other Indians that were to follow them. I knew not where these Indians were to come from: I was left alone upon the beach, and night was at hand. They left me not even a morsel of the stinking seal that I had suffered so much about.

I kept my eyes upon the boats as long as I could distinguish them, and then returned into the wood, and sat myself down upon the root of a tree, having eat nothing the whole day but the stem of a plant which resembles that of an artichoke, which is of a juicy consistence and acid taste. Quite worn out with fatigue, I soon fell asleep; and awaking before day, I thought I heard some voices at no great distance from me. As the day appeared, looking further into the wood, I perceived a wigwam, and immediately made towards it; but the reception I met with was not at all agreeable, for stooping to get into it, I presently received two or three hearty kicks in my face, and at the same time heard the sound of voices, seemingly in anger, which made me retire, and wait at the foot of a tree, where I remained till an old woman peeped out and made signs to me to draw near. I obeyed very readily, and went into the wigwam. In it were three men and two women; one young man seemed to have great respect shewn to him by the rest, though he was the most miserable object I ever saw. He was a perfect skeleton, and covered with sores from head to foot. I was happy to sit a moment by their fire, as I was quite benumbed with cold. The old woman took out a piece of seal, holding one part of it between her feet, and the other end in her teeth, and then cut off some thin slices with a sharp shell, and distributed them about to the other Indians. She then put a bit on the fire, taking a piece of fat in her mouth, which she kept chewing, every now and then spirting some of it on the piece that was warming upon the fire; for they never do more with it than warm it through. When it was ready, she gave me a little bit, which I swallowed whole, being almost starved.

As these Indians were all strangers to me, I did not know which way they were going; and indeed it was now become quite indifferent to me which way I went, whether to the northward or southward, so that they would but take me with them and give me something to eat. However, to make them comprehend me, I pointed first to the southward,

ward, and after to the lake, and I soon understood they were going to the northward. They all went out together, excepting the sick Indian, and took up the planks of the canoes, which lay near the wigwam, and carried them upon the beach, and presently put it together, and getting every thing into it, they put me to the oar. We rowed across the lake to the mouth of a very rapid river, where we put ashore for that night, not daring to get any way down in the dark, as it required the greatest skill, even in the day, to avoid running foul of the stumps and roots of trees, of which this river was full. I passed a melancholy night, as they would not suffer me to come near the wigwam they had made; nor had they given me the least bit of any one thing to eat since we embarked.

In the morning we set off again. The weather proved extremely bad the whole day. We went down the river at an amazing rate, and just before night they put ashore upon a stony beach. They hauled the canoe up, and all disappeared in a moment, and I was left quite alone; it rained violently, and was very dark. I thought it was as well to lay down upon the beach, half side in water, as to get into a swamp under a dropping tree. In this dismal situation I fell asleep, and awaked three or four hours after in such agonies with the cramp, that I thought I must die upon the spot. I attempted several times to raise myself upon my legs, but could not. At last I made shift to get upon my knees, and looking towards the wood, I saw a great fire at some distance from me. I was a long time crawling to it, and when I reached it, I threw myself almost into it, in hopes of finding some relief from the pain I suffered. This intrusion gave great offence to the Indians, who immediately got up, kicking and beating me till they drove me to some distance from it; however, I contrived a little after to place myself so as to receive some warmth from it, by which I got rid of the cramp.

In the morning we left this place, and were soon after out of the river. Being now at sea again, the Indians intended putting ashore at the first convenient place to look for shell-fish, their stock of provisions having been quite exhausted for some time. At low water we landed upon a spot that seemed to promise well, and here we found plenty of limpets. Though at this time starving, I did not attempt to eat one, lest I should lose a moment in gathering them,
not

not knowing how soon the Indians might be going again. I had almost filled my hat when I saw them returning to the canoe. I made what haste I could to her, for I believe they would have made no conscience of leaving me behind. I sat down to my oar again, placing my hat close to me, every now and then eating a limpet. The Indians were employed the same way, when one of them seeing me throw the shells overboard, spoke to the rest in a violent passion, and getting up, fell upon me, and seizing me by an old ragged handkerchief I had about my neck, almost throttled me; whilst another took me by the legs, and was going to throw me overboard if the old woman had not prevented them.

I was all this time entirely ignorant by what means I had given offence, till I observed that the Indians, after eating the limpets, carefully put the shells in a heap at the bottom of the canoe. I then concluded there was some superstition about throwing these shells into the sea, my ignorance of which had very nearly cost me my life. I was resolved to eat no more limpets till we landed, which we did some time after upon an island. I then took notice that the Indians brought all their shells ashore, and laid them above high-water mark. Here, as I was going to eat a large bunch of berries I had gathered from a tree, for they looked very tempting, one of the Indians snatched them out of my hand and threw them away, making me to understand that they were poisonous. Thus, in all probability, did these people now save my life, who, a few hours before, were going to take it from me for throwing away a shell.

In two days after I joined my companions again, but don't remember that there was the least joy shewn on either side at meeting. At this place was a very large canoe belonging to our guide, which would have required at least six men to the oar to have made any kind of expedition; instead of that, there was only Campbell and myself, besides the Indian, his companion or servant, to row, the cacique himself never touching an oar, but sitting with his wife all the time much at his ease. Mr Hamilton continued in the same canoe he had been in all along, and which still was to keep us company some way further, though many of the others had left us. This was dreadful hard work to such poor starved wretches as we were, to be slaving at the oar all day long in such a heavy boat; and this inhuman fellow

would

would never give us a scrap to eat, excepting when he took so much seal that he could not contrive to carry it all away with him, which happened very seldom.

After working like galley slaves all day, towards night, when we landed, instead of taking any rest, Mr Campbell and I were sometimes obliged to go miles along shore to get a few shell-fish; and just as we have made a little fire in order to dress them, he has commanded us into the boat again, and kept us rowing the whole night without ever landing. It is impossible for me to describe the miserable state we were reduced to: Our bodies were so emaciated, that we hardly appeared the figures of men.

It has often happened to me in the coldest night, both in hail and snow, where we had nothing but an open beach to lay down upon, in order to procure a little rest, that I have been obliged to pull off the few rags I had on, as it was impossible to get a moment's sleep with them on for the vermin that swarmed about them, though I used as often as I had time, to take my clothes off, and putting them upon a large stone, beat them with another, in hopes of killing hundreds at once, for it was endless work to pick them off. What we suffered from this was ten times worse even than hunger. But we were clean in comparison to Captain Cheap, for I could compare his body to nothing but an ant-hill, with thousands of those insects crawling over it; for he was now past attempting to rid himself in the least from this torment, as he had quite lost himself, not recollecting our names that were about him, or even his own. His beard was as long as a hermit's; that and his face being covered with train-oil and dirt, from having long accustomed himself to sleep upon a bag, by the way of pillow, in which he kept the pieces of stinking seal. This prudent method he took to prevent our getting at it whilst he slept. His legs were as big as millposts, though his body appeared to be nothing but skin and bone.

One day we fell in with about forty Indians, who came down to the beach we landed on, curiously painted. Our cacique seemed to understand but little of their language, and it sounded to us very different from what we had heard before. However, they made us comprehend that a ship had been upon the coast not far from where we then were, and that she had a red flag: This we understood some time after to have been the Anne pink, whose adventures are

are particularly related in Lord Anson's Voyage; and we passed through the very harbour she had lain in.

As there was but one small canoe that intended to accompany us any longer, and that in which Mr Hamilton had been to this time intended to proceed no further to the northward, our cacique proposed to him to come into our canoe, which he refused, as the insolence of this fellow was to him insupportable; he therefore rather chose to remain where he was, till chance should throw in his way some other means of getting forward; so here we left him, and it was some months before we saw him again.

## CHAPTER VII.

*We land on the Island of Chiloe.—To our great Joy we at length discover Something having the Appearance of a House—Kindness of the Natives.—We are delivered to the Custody of a Spanish Guard.—Transactions with the Spanish Residents.—Arrival at Chaco.—Manners of the Inhabitants.*

We now got on, by very slow degrees, to the northward; and as the difficulties and hardships we daily went through would only be a repetition of those already mentioned, I shall say no more, but that at last we reached an island about thirty leagues to the southward of Chiloe. Here we remained two days for a favourable opportunity to cross the bay, the very thoughts of which seemed to frighten our cacique out of his senses; and indeed there was great reason for his apprehensions, for there ran a most dreadful hollow sea, dangerous indeed for any open boat whatever, but a thousand times more for such a crazy vessel as we were in. He at length mustered up resolution enough to attempt it, first having crossed himself for an hour together, and made a kind of lug-sail out of the bits of blankets they wore about them, sewed together with split supple-jacks. We then put off, and a terrible passage we had. The bottom plank of the canoe was split, which opened upon every sea; and the water continually rushing over the gunnel, I may say that we were in a manner full the whole way over, though

though all hands were employed in bailing, without ceasing a moment.

As we drew near the shore, the cacique was eager to land, having been terrified to that degree with this run, that if it had not been for us, every soul must have perished; for he had very near got in amongst the breakers, where the sea drove with such violence upon the rocks, that not even an Indian could have escaped, especially as it was in the night. We kept off till we got into smooth water, and landed upon the island of Chiloe, though in a part of it that was not inhabited. Here we staid all the next day, in a very heavy snow, to recover ourselves a little after our fatigue; but the cold was so excessive, having neither shoe nor stocking, we thought we should have lost our feet; and Captain Cheap was so ill, that if he had had but a few leagues further to have gone without relief, he could not have held out. It pleased God now that our sufferings, in a great measure, were drawing to an end.

What things our cacique had brought with him from the wreck, he here buried under ground, in order to conceal them from the Spaniards, who would not have left him a rusty nail if they had known of it. Towards evening we set off again; and about nine the same night, to our great joy, we observed something that had the appearance of a house. It belonged to an acquaintance of our cacique; and as he was possessed of my fowling-piece, and we had preserved about one charge of powder, he made us load it for him, and desired we would shew him how to discharge it; upon which, standing up, and holding his head from it as far as possible, he fired, and fell back into the bottom of the canoe. The Indians belonging to the house, not in the least used to fire-arms, ran out and hid themselves in the woods. But after some time, one of them bolder than the rest, got upon a hill and hollowed to us, asking who and what we were. Our cacique now made himself known, and they presently came down to the boat, bringing with them some fish and plenty of potatoes. This was the most comfortable meal we had made for many long months; and as soon as this was over, we rowed about two miles farther to a little village, where we landed. Here our cacique presently awaked all the inhabitants by the noise he made, and obliged one of them to open his door to us, and immediately to make a large fire, for the weather was very severe, this being

being the month of June, the depth of winter in this part of the world. The Indians now flocked thick about us, and seemed to have great compassion for us, as our cacique related to them what part he knew of our history. They knew not what countrymen we were, nor could our guide inform them; for he had often asked us if we were French, Dutch, or English, the only nations he had ever heard of besides the Spaniards. We always answered we were from Grande Bretagne, which he could make nothing of; for we were afraid, if he knew us to be English, as he had heard that nation was at war with the Spaniards, he never would have conducted us to Chiloe.

These good-natured compassionate creatures seemed to vie with each other who should take the most care of us. They made a bed of sheep-skins close to the fire for Captain Cheap, and laid him upon it; and indeed, had it not been for the kind assistance he now met with, he could not have survived three days longer. Though it was now about midnight, they went out and killed a sheep, of which they made broth, and baked a large cake of barley-meal. Any body may imagine what a treat this was to wretches who had not tasted a bit of bread, or any wholesome diet, for such a length of time. After we could eat no longer, we went to sleep about the fire, which the Indians took care to keep up. In the morning, the women came from far and near, each bringing with her something. Almost every one had a pipkin in her hand, containing either fowls or mutton made into broth, potatoes, eggs, or other eatables. We fell to work as if we had eat nothing in the night, and employed ourselves so for the best part of the day.

In the evening, the men filled our house, bringing with them some jars of a liquor they called chica, made of barley-meal, and not very unlike our oat-ale in taste, which will intoxicate those who drink a sufficient quantity of it, for a little has no effect. As soon as the drink was out, a fresh supply of victuals was brought in; and in this manner we passed the whole time we remained with these hospitable Indians. They are a strong well-made people, extremely well-featured, both men and women, and vastly neat in their persons. The men's dress is called by them a puncho, which is a square piece of cloth, generally in stripes of different colours, with a slit in the middle of it, wide enough to let their heads through, so that it hangs on their shoul-

ders, half of it falling before and the other behind them: Under this they wear a short kind of flannel shirt without sleeves or neck. They have wide-knee'd breeches, something like the Dutch seamen, and on their legs a sort of knit buskins without any feet to them, but never any shoes. Their hair is always combed very smooth, and tied very tight up in a great bunch close to the neck; some wear a very neat hat of their own making, and others go without. The women wear a shift like the men's shirts, without sleeves, and over it a square piece of cloth, which they fasten before with a large silver pin, and a petticoat of different stripes. They take as much care of their hair as the men; and both have always a kind of fillet bound very tight about the fore-head, and made fast behind. In short, these people are as cleanly as the several savage nations we had met with before were beastly.

Upon our first coming here, they had dispatched a messenger to the Spanish corregidore at Castro, a town a considerable distance from hence, to inform him of our arrival. At the end of three days, this man returned with an order to the chief caciques of these Indians we were amongst, to carry us directly to a certain place, where there would be a party of soldiers to receive us. These poor people now seemed to be under great concern for us, hearing by the messenger the preparations that were making to receive us; for they stand in vast dread of the Spanish soldiery. They were very desirous of knowing what countrymen we were. We told them we were English, and at that time at war with the Spaniards, upon which they appeared fonder of us than ever; and I verily believe, if they durst, would have concealed us amongst them, lest we should come to any harm. They are so far from being in the Spanish interest, that they detest the very name of a Spaniard. And, indeed, I am not surprised at it, for they are kept under such subjection, and such a laborious slavery, by mere dint of hard usage and punishments, that it appears to me the most absurd thing in the world that the Spaniards should rely upon these people for assistance upon any emergency.

We embarked in the evening, and it was night before we got to the place where we were to be delivered up to the Spanish guard. We were met by three or four officers and a number of soldiers, all with their spados drawn, who surrounded us as if they had the most formidable enemy to

take charge of, instead of three poor helpless wretches, who, notwithstanding the good living we had met with amongst these kind Indians, could hardly support ourselves. They carried us to the top of a hill, and there put us under a shed, for it consisted of a thatched roof without any sides or walls, being quite open; and here we were to lie upon the cold ground. All sorts of people now came to stare at us as a sight; but the Indian women never came empty-handed; they always brought with them either fowls, mutton, or some kind of provision to us, so that we lived well enough. However, we found a very sensible difference between the treatment we had met with from the Indians and what we now experienced from the Spaniards. With the former, we were quite at liberty to do as we pleased; but here, if we only went ten yards to attempt at getting rid of some of the vermin that devoured us, we had two soldiers with drawn spados to attend us.

About the third day, a Jesuit from Castro came to see us, not from a motive of compassion, but from a report spread by our Indian cacique, that we had some things of great value about us. Having by chance seen Captain Cheap pull out a gold repeating watch, the first thing the good father did was to lug out of his pocket a bottle of brandy and give us a dram, in order to open our hearts. He then came roundly to the point, asking us if we had saved no watches or rings. Captain Cheap declared he had nothing, never suspecting that the Indian had seen his watch, having, as he thought, always taken great care to conceal it from him; but knowing that Campbell had a silver watch, which had been the property of our surgeon, he desired him to make it a present to the Jesuit, telling him at the same time, that as these people had great power and authority, it might be of service to us hereafter. This Campbell very unwillingly did, and received from the father, not long after, a pitiful present, not a quarter part of the value of the rim of the watch. We understood afterwards that this had come to the governor's ears, who was highly offended at it, as thinking that if any thing of that sort had been to be had, it was his due, and did not spare the Jesuits in the least upon the occasion.

Soon after this, the officer of the guard informed us there was an order come to carry us to Castro. In the evening, we were conducted to the water-side, and put into a large periago,

periago, and there were several more to attend us, full of soldiers. About eight o'clock at night we were off the town. Their boats all laid upon their oars, and there was a great deal of ceremony used in hailing and asking for the keys, as if it had been a regular fortification. After some time, we landed, but could see neither gates nor walls, nor any thing that had the appearance of a garrison. As we walked up a steep hill into the town, the way was lined with men, who had broomsticks upon their shoulders instead of muskets, and a lighted match in their hands. When we came to the corregidore's house, we found it full of people. He was an old man, very tall, with a long cloak on, a tye-wig without any curl, and a spado of immense length by his side. He received us in great state and form; but as we had no interpreter, we understood little or nothing of the questions he asked us. He ordered a table to be spread for us with cold ham and fowls, which we three only sat down to, and in a short time dispatched more than ten men with common appetites would have done. It is amazing, that our eating to that excess we had done, from the time we first got among these kind Indians, had not killed us; we were never satisfied, and used to take all opportunities, for some months after, of filling our pockets when we were not seen, that we might get up two or three times in the night to cram ourselves. Captain Cheap used to declare, that he was quite ashamed of himself.

After supper, the corregidore carried us to the Jesuits college, attended by the soldiers and all the rabble of the town. This was intended at present for our prison, till orders were received from the governor, who resided at Chaco, above thirty leagues from this place. When we got to the college, the corregidore desired the father provincial, as they stiled him, or head of the Jesuits here, to find out what religion we were of, or whether we had any or not. He then retired, the gates were shut, and we were conducted to a cell. We found in it something like beds spread on the floor, and an old ragged shirt apiece, but clean, which was of infinite service to us; nor did eating at first give me half the satisfaction this treasure of an old shirt did. Though this college was large, there were but four Jesuits in it, nor were there any more of that order upon the island.

In the morning, Captain Cheap was sent for by the father provincial: Their conversation was carried on in Latin, perhaps

haps not the best on either side; however, they made shift to understand one another. When he returned, he told us the good fathers were still harping upon what things of value we might have saved and concealed about us; and that if we had any thing of that sort, we could not do better than let them have it. Religion seemed to be quite out of the question at present; but a day or two after, the corregidore being informed that we were heretics, he desired these Jesuits would convert us; but one of them told him it was a mere joke to attempt it, as we could have no inducement upon that island to change our religion; but that when we got to Chili, in such a delightful country as that was, where there was nothing but diversions and amusements, we should be converted fast enough. We kept close to our cell till the bell rang for dinner, when we were conducted into a hall, where there was one table for the fathers, and another for us. After a very long Latin prayer, we sat down and eat what was put before us, without a single word passing at either table. As soon as we had finished, there was another long prayer, which, however, did not appear so tedious as the first, and then we retired to our cell again. In this manner we passed eight days without ever stirring out, all which time one might have imagined one's self out of the world; for, excepting the bell for dinner, a silence reigned throughout the whole, as if the place had been uninhabited.

A little before dark, on the eighth evening, we heard a violent knocking at the gate, which was no sooner opened than there entered a young officer booted and spurred, who acquainted the fathers that he was sent by the governor to conduct us to Chaco. This young man was the governor's son, by which means he obtained a command next in authority, upon this island, to his father. He ought to have been kept at school, for he was a vain empty coxcomb, much disliked by the people upon the island. After taking leave of the Jesuits, who, I imagine, were not sorry to be rid of us, after finding their expectations baulked, we set out, having about thirty soldiers on horseback to attend us. We rode about eight miles that night, when we came to an Estancia, or farm-house, belonging to an old lady, who had two handsome daughters. Here we were very well entertained, and the good old lady seemed to have great compassion on us. She asked the governor's son if he thought

his

his father would have any objection to my passing a month with her at her farm. As she was a person of rank in this island, he said he would acquaint his father with her request, and made no doubt but he would grant it. I observed our soldiers, when they came into the house, had none of them any shoes on, but wore buskins, like the Indians, without any feet to them. They all had monstrous great spurs, some of silver and others of copper, which made a rattling when they walked, like chains. They were all stout strong-looking men, as the Spaniards, natives of the island, in general are. After a good supper, we had sheep-skins laid near the fire for us to sleep on.

Early in the morning we mounted again, and after riding some miles across the country, we came to the water-side, where we found several periagoes waiting for us, with some officers in them. Most of the soldiers dismounted and embarked with us, few only being sent round with the horses. It was three days before we arrived at Chaco, as the tides between this island and the main are so rapid that no boat can stem them. The same precaution was taken here as at Castro; we passed through a whole lane of soldiers, armed as I mentioned those to have been before, excepting a few who really had match-locks, the only fire-arms they have here. The soldiers, upon our journey, had given a pompous account of el Palacio del Rey, or the king's palace, as they stiled the governor's house, and therefore we expected to see something very magnificent; but it was nothing better than a large thatched barn, partitioned off into several rooms. The governor was sitting at a large table covered with a piece of red serge, having all the principal officers about him. After some time, he made us sit down, attempting to converse with us by his linguist, who was a stupid old fellow, that could neither talk English nor Spanish, but said he was born in England, had resided above forty years in that country, and having formerly been a buccaneer, was taken by the Spaniards near Panama. The governor kept us to supper, and then we were conducted across the court to our apartment, which was a place that had served to keep the fire-wood for the governor's kitchen; however, as it was dry over head, we thought ourselves extremely well lodged. There was a soldier placed at the door with a drawn spado in his hand, to prevent our stirring out, which was quite unnecessary, as we knew not where to go if we had been at liberty.

liberty. One of these soldiers took a fancy to my ragged grieko, which had still some thousands about it, and in exchange gave me an old puncho, the sort of garment with a hole in the middle to put one's head through, as above related to be worn by the Indians; and for the little bit of my waistcoat that remained, he gave me a pair of breeches. I now should have thought myself very handsomely equipped, if I had had but another shirt.

The next day, about noon, the governor sent for us, and we dined at his table, after which we returned to our lodging, where we were never alone, for every body was curious to see us. We passed about a week in this manner, when the centinel was taken off, and we were allowed to look about us a little, though not to go out of the palace, as they were pleased to call it. We dined every day with the governor, but were not very fond of his fast days, which succeeded each other too quickly. I contrived to make friends with his steward and cook, by which means I always carried my pockets full to my apartment, where I passed my time very agreeably. Soon after, we had leave to walk about the town, or go wherever we pleased. Every house was open to us; and though it was but an hour after we had dined, they always spread a table, thinking we never could eat enough after what we had suffered; and we were much of the same opinion. They are, in general, a charitable, good sort of people, but very ignorant, and governed by their priests, who make them believe just what they please.

The Indian language is chiefly spoken here, even by the Spaniards one amongst another; and they say they think it a finer language than their own. The women have fine complexions, and many of them are very handsome; they have good voices, and can strum a little upon the guitar; but they have an ugly custom of smoking tobacco, which is a very scarce commodity here, and therefore is looked upon as a great treat when they meet at one another's houses. The lady of the house comes in with a large wooden pipe crammed with tobacco, and after taking two or three hearty whiffs, she holds her head under her cloak lest any of the smoke should escape, and then swallows it; some time after, you see it coming out of her nose and ears. She then hands the pipe to the next lady, who does the same, till it has gone through the whole company. Their houses are but very mean, as will be easily imagined by what I have said

said of the governor's. They make their fire in the middle of their rooms, but have no chimneys; there is a small hole at each end of the roof to let the smoke out.

It is only the better sort of people that eat bread made of wheat, as they grow but very little here, and they have no mills to grind it; but then they have great plenty of the finest potatoes in the world: These are always roasted in the ashes, then scraped, and served up at meals instead of bread. They breed abundance of swine, as they supply both Chili and Peru with hams. They are in no want of sheep, but are not overstocked with cows, owing, in a great measure, to their own indolence in not clearing away the woods, which if they would be at the pains to do, they might have sufficient pasture. Their trade consists in hams, hogs-lard, which is used throughout all South America instead of butter; cedar-plank, which the Indians are continually employed in cutting quite to the foot of the Cordilleras, little carved boxes, which the Spanish ladies use to put their work in, carpets, quilts, and punchos neatly embroidered all round; for these, both in Chili and Peru, are used by the people of the first fashion, as well as the inferior sort, by way of riding-dress, and are esteemed to be much more convenient for a horseman than any kind of coat whatever.

They have what they call an annual ship from Lima, as they never expect more than one in the year; though sometimes it happens that two have come, and at other times they have been two or three years without any. When this happens, they are greatly distressed, as this ship brings them baize, cloth, linens, hats, ribbons, tobacco, sugar, brandy, and wine, but this latter article is chiefly for the use of the churches: Matte, an herb from Paraguay, used over all South America instead of tea, is also a necessary article. This ship's cargo is chiefly consigned to the Jesuits, who have more Indians employed for them than all the rest of the inhabitants together, and of course engross almost the whole trade. There is no money current in this island. If any person wants a few yards of linen, a little sugar, tobacco, or any other thing brought from Peru, he gives so many cedar-planks, hams, or punchos, in exchange. Some time after we had been here, a snow arrived in the harbour from Lima, which occasioned great joy amongst the inhabitants, as they had no ship the year before, from the alarm Lord Anson had given upon the coast.

This

This was not the annual vessel, but one of those that I mentioned before which come unexpectedly. The captain of her was an old man, well known upon the island, who had traded here once in two or three years for more than thirty years past. He had a remarkably large head, and therefore was commonly known by a nick-name they had given him of Cabuco de Toro, or Bull's-head. He had not been here a week, before he came to the governor, and told him, with a most melancholy countenance, that he had not slept a wink since he came into the harbour, as the governor was pleased to allow three English prisoners liberty to walk about instead of confining them, and that he expected every moment they would board his vessel and carry her away: This he said when he had above thirty hands aboard. The governor assured him he would be answerable for us, and that he might sleep in quiet; though at the same time he could not help laughing at the man, as all the people in the town did. These assurances did not satisfy the captain; he used the utmost dispatch in disposing of his cargo, and put to sea again, not thinking himself safe till he had lost sight of the island. It was about three months after this that Mr Hamilton was brought in by a party that the governor had sent to the southward on purpose to fetch him. He was in a wretched condition upon his first arrival, but soon recovered with the good living he found here.

It is usual for the governor to make a tour every year through the several districts belonging to his government: On this occasion he took us with him. The first place he visited was Carelmapo, on the main, and from thence to Castro. At these places he holds a kind of court, all the chief caciques meeting him, and informing him of what has passed since his last visit, and receiving fresh orders for the year to come. At Castro we had the same liberty we enjoyed at Chaco, and visited every body. It seemed they had forgot all the ceremony used upon our first landing here, which was with an intent to make us believe it was strongly fortified; for now they let us see plainly that they had neither fort nor gun. At Chaco they had a little earthen fort, with a small ditch palisadoed round it, and a few old honeycombed guns without carriages, and which do not defend the harbour in the least. Whilst we were at Castro, the old lady (at whose house we lay the first night upon leaving the Jesuits college) sent to the governor, and begged I

might

might be allowed to come to her for a few weeks; this was granted, and accordingly I went and passed about three weeks with her very happily, as she seemed to be as fond of me as if I had been her own son. She was very unwilling to part with me again, but as the governor was soon to return to Chaca, he sent for me, and I left my benefactress with regret.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Adventure with the Niece of an old Priest at Castro.—Superstition of the People.—The Lima Ship arrives, in which we depart for Valparaiso, January 1743.—Arrival at and Treatment there.—Journey to Chili.—Arrival at St Jago.—Generous Conduct of a Scotch Physician.—Description of the City and of the People.*

AMONGST the houses we visited at Castro, there was one belonging to an old priest, who was esteemed one of the richest persons upon the island. He had a niece, of whom he was extremely fond, and who was to inherit all he possessed. He had taken a great deal of pains with her education, and she was reckoned one of the most accomplished young ladies of Chiloe. Her person was good, though she could not be called a regular beauty. This young lady did me the honour to take more notice of me than I deserved, and proposed to her uncle to convert me, and afterwards begged his consent to marry me. As the old man doated upon her, he readily agreed to it; and accordingly, on the next visit I made him, acquainted me with the young lady's proposal, and his approbation of it, taking me at the same time into a room where there were several chests and boxes, which he unlocked, first shewing me what a number of fine clothes his niece had, and then his own wardrobe, which he said should be mine at his death. Amongst other things, he produced a piece of linen, which he said should immediately be made up into shirts for me. I own this last article was a great temptation to me; however, I had the resolution

resolution to withstand it, and made the best excuses I could for not accepting of the honour they intended me; for by this time I could speak Spanish well enough to make myself understood.

Amongst other Indians who had come to meet the governor here, there were some caciques of those Indians who had treated us so kindly at our first landing upon Chiloe. One of these, a young man, had been guilty of some offence, and was put in irons, and threatened to be more severely punished. We could not learn his crime, or whether the governor did not do it in a great measure to shew us his power over these Indian chiefs; however, we were under great concern for this young man, who had been extremely kind to us, and begged Captain Cheap to intercede with the governor for him. This he did, and the cacique was released; the governor acquainted him at the same time, with great warmth, that it was to us only he owed it, or otherwise he would have made a severe example of him. The young man seemed to have been in no dread of farther punishment, as I believe he felt all a man could do from the indignity of being put in irons in the public square, before all his brother caciques and many hundreds of other Indians. I thought this was not a very politic step of the governor, as the cacique came after to Captain Cheap to thank him for his goodness, and in all probability would remember the English for some time after; and not only he, but all the other caciques who had been witnesses of it, and who seemed to feel, if possible, even more than the young man himself did.

We now returned to Chaco, and the governor told us, when the annual ship came, which they expected in December, we should be sent in her to Chili. We felt several earthquakes while we were here. One day, as I happened to be upon a visit at a house where I was very well acquainted, an Indian came in, who lived at many leagues distance from this town, and who had made this journey in order to purchase some little trifles he wanted; amongst other things, he had bought some prints of saints. Very proud of these, he produced them, and put them into the hands of the women, who very devoutly first crossed themselves with them, and afterwards kissed them; then gave them to me, saying at the same time, they supposed such a heretic as I was would refuse to kiss them. They were right in their conjectures

jectures; I returned them to the Indian without going through that ceremony. At that very instant there happened a violent shock of an earthquake, which they imputed entirely to the anger of the saints; and all quitted the house as fast as they could, lest it should fall upon their heads. For my part, I made the best of my way home for fear of being knocked on the head when out of the house by the rabble, who looked on me as the cause of all this mischief, and did not return to that house again till I thought this affair was forgotten.

Here is a very good harbour; but the entrance is very dangerous for those who are unacquainted with it, as the tides are so extremely rapid, and there are sunken rocks in the midchannel. The island is above seventy leagues round, and the body of it lies in about 40 deg. 20 min. south, and is the most southern settlement the Spaniards have in these seas. Their summer is of no long duration, and most of the year round they have hard gales of wind and much rain. Opposite the island, upon the Cordilleras, there is a volcano, which at times burns with great fury, and is subject to violent eruptions. One of these alarmed the whole island whilst we were there; it sounded in the night like great guns. In the morning, the governor mounted his horse, and rode backwards and forwards from his house to the earthen fort, saying it was the English coming in, but that he would give them a warm reception; meaning, I suppose, that he would have left them a good fire in his house, for I am certain he would soon have been in the woods if he had seen any thing like an English ship coming in.

Women of the first fashion here seldom wear shoes or stockings in the house, but only keep them to wear upon particular occasions. I have often seen them coming to the church, which stood opposite to the governor's house, bare-legged, walking through mud and water, and at the church-door put on their shoes and stockings, and pull them off again when they came out. Though they are in general handsome, and have good complexions, yet many of them paint in so ridiculous a manner, that it is impossible to help laughing in their faces when you see them.

The governor we found here was a native of Chili. The government, which is appointed by that presidency, is for three years, which appears to be a long banishment to them, as their appointments are but small, though they

make

make the most of it. The towns of Castro and Chaco consist only of scattered houses, without a regular street, though both have their places or squares, as almost all Spanish towns have. Chaco is very thinly inhabited, excepting at the time the Lima ship arrives; then they flock thither from all parts of the island to purchase what little matters they want, and as soon as that is done, retire to their estancias or farms.

It was about the middle of December this ship came in, and the second of January, 1742-3, we embarked on board of her. She was bound to Valparaiso. We got out to sea with some difficulty, having been driven by the strength of the tide very near those sunken rocks mentioned before. We found a great sea without; and as the ship was as deep as any laden collier, her decks were continually well washed. She was a fine vessel, of about two hundred and fifty tons. The timber the ships of this country are built of is excellent, as they last a prodigious time; for they assured us that the vessel we were then in had been built above forty years. The captain was a Spaniard, and knew not the least of sea affairs; the second captain, or master, the boatswain, and his mate, were all three Frenchmen, and very good seamen; the pilot was a Mulatto, and all the rest of the crew were Indians and negroes. The latter were all slaves and stout fellows, but never suffered to go aloft, lest they should fall overboard, and the owners lose so much money by it. The Indians were active, brisk men, and very good seamen for that climate. We had on board the head of the Jesuits as passenger. He and Captain Cheap were admitted into the great cabin, and messed with the captain and his chaplain. As for us, we were obliged to rough it the whole passage, that is, when we were tired we lay down upon the quarter-deck in the open air, and slept as well as we could; but that was nothing to us, who had been used to fare so much worse. We lived well, eating with the master and boatswain, who always had their meals upon the quarter-deck, and drank brandy at them as we do small-beer, and all the rest of the day were smoking segars.

The fifth day we made the land four or five leagues to the southward of Valparaiso, and soon after falling calm, a great western swell hurried us in very fast towards the shore. We dropped the lead several times, but had such

deep

deep water we could not anchor. They were all much alarmed when the Jesuit came out of the cabin for the first time, having been sea-sick the whole passage. As soon as he was informed of the danger, he went back into the cabin and brought out the image of some saint, which he desired might be hung up in the mizen-shrouds; which being done, he kept threatening it, that if we had not a breeze of wind soon, he would certainly throw it overboard. Soon after, we had a little wind from off the land, when the Jesuit carried the image back with an air of great triumph, saying he was certain that we should not be without wind long, though he had given himself over for lost some time before it came. Next morning we anchored in the port of Valparaiso. In that part which is opposite to the fort, ships lay so near the land, that they have generally three anchors ashore, as there is eight or ten fathom close to it; and the flaws come off the hills with such violence, that if it was not for this method of securing them they would be blown out. This is only in summer-time, for in the winter months no ships ever attempt to come in here; the northerly winds then prevail, and drive in such a sea that they must soon be ashore.

The Spanish captain waited upon the governor of the fort, and informed him that he had four English prisoners on board. We were ordered ashore in the afternoon, and were received as we got upon the beach by a file of soldiers with their bayonets fixed, who surrounded us, and then marched up to the fort, attended by a numerous mob. We were carried before the governor, whose house was full of officers. He was blind, asked a few questions, and then spoke of nothing but the strength of the garrison he commanded, and desired to know if we had observed that all the lower battery was brass guns. We were immediately after, by his order, put into the condemned hole. There was nothing but four bare walls, excepting a heap of lime that filled one third of it, and made the place swarm with fleas in such a manner that we were presently covered with them. Some of Admiral Pizarro's soldiers were here in garrison that had been landed from his ships at Buenos Ayres, as he could not get round Cape Horn. A centinel's box was placed at our door, and we had always a soldier with his bayonet fixed to prevent our stirring out. The curiosity of the people was such, that our prison was continually

nually full from morning till night, by which the soldiers made a pretty penny, as they took money from every person for the sight.

In a few days, Captain Cheap and Mr Hamilton were ordered up to St Jago, as they were known to be officers by having saved their commissions; but Mr Campbell and I were to continue in prison. Captain Cheap expressed great concern when he left us; he told me it was what he had all along dreaded, that they would separate us when we got into this country; but he assured me, if he was permitted to speak to the president, that he would never leave soliciting him till he obtained a grant for me to be sent up to him. No sooner were they gone than we fared very badly. A common soldier, who was ordered to provide for us by the governor, brought us each, once a day, a few potatoes mixed with hot water. The other soldiers of the garrison, as well as the people who flocked to see us, took notice of it, and told the soldier it was cruel to treat us in that manner. His answer was, "The governor allows me but half a real a day for each of these men; what can I do? It is he that is to blame; I am shocked every time I bring them this scanty pittance, though even that could not be provided for the money he gives them."

We from this time lived much better, and the soldier brought us even wine and fruit. We took it for granted that our case had been represented to the governor, and that he had increased our pay. As to the first, we were right in our conjectures; it had been mentioned to him, that it was impossible we could subsist on what he allowed; and his answer to it was, that we might starve, for we should have no more from him, and that he believed he should never be repaid even that. This charitable speech of the governor was made known everywhere, and now almost every one who came to see us gave us something; even the mule-drivers would take out their tobacco-pouch, in which they kept their money, and give us half a real. All this we would have given to our soldier, but he never would receive a farthing from us, telling us we might still want it; and the whole time we were there, which was some weeks, he laid aside half his daily pay to supply us, though he had a wife and six children, and never could have the least hope or expectation of any recompence. However, two years after this I had the singular pleasure of

of making him some return, when my circumstances were much better than his.

One night, when we were locked up, there happened a dreadful shock of an earthquake. We expected every moment the roof and walls of our prison to fall in upon us and crush us to pieces; and what added to the horror of it was, the noise of chains and imprecations in the next prison which joined to ours, where there were near seventy felons heavily loaded with irons, who are kept here to work upon the fortifications, as in other countries they are condemned to the gallies. A few days after this, we were told an order was come from the president to the governor to send us up to St Jago, which is ninety miles from Valparaiso, and is the capital of Chili. There were at this time several ships in the port from Lima delivering their cargoes, so that almost every day there were large droves of mules going up to St Jago with the goods. The governor sent for one of the master carriers, and ordered him to take us up with him. The man asked him how he was to be paid our expences, as he should be five days upon the road. The governor told him he might get that as he could, for he would not advance him a single farthing.

After taking leave of our friendly soldier, who even now brought us some little matters to carry with us, we set out, and travelled about fourteen miles the first day, and lay at night in the open field, which is always the custom of these people, stopping where there is plenty of pasture and good water for the mules. The next morning we passed over a high mountain called Zapata; and then crossing a large plain, we passed another mountain, very difficult for the mules, who each carried two heavy bales: There were above an hundred in this drove. The mules of Chili are the finest in the world; and though they are continually upon the road, and have nothing but what they pick up at night, they are as fat and sleek as high-fed horses in England. The fourth night we lay upon a plain in sight of St Jago, and not above four leagues from it.

The next day, as we moved towards the city, our master-carrier, who was naturally well-disposed, and had been very kind to us all the way upon the road, advised me, very seriously, not to think of remaining in St Jago, where he said there was nothing but extravagance, vice, and folly, but to proceed on with them as mule-driver, which, he said, I should

should soon be very expert at; and that they led an innocent and happy life, far preferable to any enjoyment such a great city as that before us could afford. I thanked him, and told him I was very much obliged to him, but that I would try the city first, and if I did not like it, I would accept of the offer he was so good as to make me. The thing that gave him this high opinion of me was, that as he had been so civil to us, I was very officious in assisting to drive in those mules that strayed from the rest upon those large plains we passed over; and this I thought was the least I could do towards making some returns for the obligations we were under to him.

When we got into St Jago, the carrier delivered us to the captain of the guard at the palace gate, and he soon after introduced us to the president, Don Joseph Manso, who received us very civilly, and then sent us to the house where Captain Cheap and Mr Hamilton were. We found them extremely well lodged at the house of a Scotch physician, whose name was Don Patricio Gedd. This gentleman had been a long time in this city, and was greatly esteemed by the Spaniards, as well for his abilities in his profession as his humane disposition. He no sooner heard that there were four English prisoners arrived in that country, than he waited upon the president, and begged they might be lodged at his house. This was granted, and had we been his own brothers we could not have met with a more friendly reception; and during two years that we were with him, his constant study was to make every thing as agreeable to us as possible. We were greatly distressed to think of the expence he was at upon our account, but it was in vain for us to argue with him about it. In short, to sum up his character in a few words, there never was a man of more extensive humanity.

Two or three days after our arrival, the president sent Mr Campbell and me an invitation to dine with him, where we were to meet Admiral Pizarro and all his officers. This was a cruel stroke upon us, as we had not any clothes fit to appear in, and dared not refuse the invitation. The next day, a Spanish officer belonging to Admiral Pizarro's squadron, whose name was Don Manuel de Guiror, came and made us an offer of two thousand dollars. This generous Spaniard made this offer without any view of ever being repaid, but purely out of a compassionate motive of relieving

us in our present distress. We returned him all the acknowledgments his uncommon generous behaviour merited, and accepted of six hundred dollars only, upon his receiving our draught for that sum upon the English consul at Lisbon. We now got ourselves decently clothed after the Spanish fashion, and as we were upon our parole, we went out where we pleased to divert ourselves.

This city is situated in about 33 degrees and 30 minutes south latitude, at the west foot of the immense chain of mountains called the Cordilleras. It stands on a most beautiful plain of above thirty leagues extent. It was founded by Don Pedro de Baldivia, the conqueror of Chili. The plan of it was marked out by him, in squares, like Lima; and almost every house belonging to people of any fashion has a large court before it, with great gates, and a garden behind. There is a little rivulet, neatly faced with stone, runs through every street, by which they can cool the streets or water their gardens when they please. The whole town is extremely well paved. Their gardens are full of noble orange-trees and floripondies, with all sort of flowers, which perfume the houses and even the whole city. Much about the middle of it is the great square, called the Placa Real, or the Royal Square; there are eight avenues leading into it. The west side contains the cathedral and the bishop's palace; the north side is the president's palace, the royal court, the council house, and the prison; the south side is a row of piazzas, the whole length of which are shops, and over it a gallery to see the bull-fights; the east side has some large houses belonging to people of distinction, and in the middle is a large fountain with a brass bason. The houses have, in general, only a ground floor, upon account of the frequent earthquakes; but they make a handsome appearance. The churches are rich in gilding as well as in plate: That of the Jesuits is reckoned an exceeding good piece of architecture, but it is much too high built for a country so subject to earthquakes, and where it has frequently happened that thousands of people have been swallowed up at once.

There is a hill, or rather high rock, at the east end of the city, called St Lucia, from the top of which you have a view of all the city and the country about for many leagues, affording a very delightful landscape. Their estancias, or country houses, are very pleasant, having generally

rally a fine grove of olive trees, with large vineyards to them. The Chili wine, in my opinion, is full as good as Madeira, and made in such quantities that it is sold extremely cheap. The soil of this country is so fertile, that the husbandmen have very little trouble, for they do but in a manner scratch up the ground, and without any kind of manure it yields an hundred fold. Without doubt the wheat of Chili is the finest in the world, and the fruits are all excellent in their kinds. Beef and mutton are so cheap, that you may have a good cow for three dollars, and a fat sheep for two shillings. Their horses are extraordinary good; and though some of them go at a great price, you may have a very good one for four dollars, or about eighteen shillings of our money.

It must be a very poor Indian who has not his four or five horses; and there are no better horsemen in the world than the Chileans, and that is not surprising, for they never chuse to go a hundred yards on foot. They have always their laco fixed to their saddle: the laco is a long thong of leather, at the end of which they make a sliding noose. It is of more general use to them than any weapon whatever, for with this they are sure of catching either horse or wild bull, upon full gallop, by any foot they please. Their horses are all trained to this, and the moment they find the thong straitened, as the other end is always made fast to the saddle, the horse immediately turns short, and throwing the beast thus caught, the huntsman wounds or secures him in what manner he thinks proper. These people are so dexterous, that they will take from the ground a glove or handkerchief while their horse is upon full stretch; and I have seen them jump upon the back of the wildest bull, and all the efforts of the beast could not throw them. This country produces all sorts of metals; it is famous for gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, and quicksilver; but some of these they do not understand working, especially quicksilver. With copper they supply all Peru, and send likewise a great deal to Europe.

The climate of Chili is, I believe, the finest in the world. What they call their winter does not last three months, and even that is very moderate, as may be imagined by their manner of building, for they have no chimneys in their houses. All the rest of the year is delightful, for though, from ten or eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon, it is very hot, yet the evenings and mornings are very cool and

and pleasant; and in the hottest time of the year, it is from six in the evening till two or three in the morning that the people of this country meet to divert themselves with music and other entertainments, at which there is plenty of cooling liquors, as they are well supplied with ice from the neighbouring Cordilleras. At these assemblies many intrigues are carried on: for they think of nothing else throughout the year.

Their fandangoes are very agreeable; the women dance inimitably well, and very gracefully. They are all born with an ear for music, and most of them have delightful voices, and all play upon the guitar and harp. The latter, at first, appears a very awkward instrument for a woman, yet that prejudice is soon got over, and they far excel any other nation upon it. They are extremely complaisant and polite; and when asked either to play, dance, or sing, they do it without a moment's hesitation, and that with an exceeding good grace. They have many figure-dances, but what they take most delight in, are more like our hornpipes than any thing else I can compare them to; and upon these occasions they shew surprising activity. The women are remarkably handsome, and very extravagant in their dress. Their hair, which is as thick as is possible to be conceived, they wear of a vast length, without any other ornament upon the head than a few flowers; they plait it behind in four plaits, and twist them round a bodkin, at each end of which is a diamond rose. Their shifts are all over lace, as is a little tight waistcoat they wear over them. Their petticoats are open before, and lap over, and have commonly three rows of very rich lace of gold or silver. In winter, they have an upper waistcoat of cloth of gold or silver, and in summer, of the finest linen, covered all over with the finest Flanders lace. The sleeves of these are immensely wide. Over all this, when the air is cool, they have a mantle, which is only of bays, of the finest colours, round which there is abundance of lace. When they go abroad, they wear a veil, which is so contrived that one eye is only seen. Their feet are very small, and they value themselves as much upon it as the Chinese do. Their shoes are pinked and cut; their stockings silk, with gold and silver cloaks; and they love to have the end of an embroidered garter hang a little below the petticoat. Their breasts and shoulders are very naked; and, indeed, you may easily discern

their

their whole shape by their manner of dress. They have fine sparkling eyes, ready wit, a great deal of good nature, and a strong disposition to gallantry.

By the description of one house you have an idea of all the rest. You first come into a large court, on one side of which is the stable: you then enter a hall; on one side of that is a large room, about twenty feet wide, and near forty feet long: that side next the window is the estrado, which runs the whole length of the room. The estrado is a platform, raised about five or six inches above the floor, and is covered with carpets and velvet cushions for the women to sit on, which they do, after the Moorish fashion, cross-legged. The chairs for the men are covered with printed leather. At the end of the estrado, there is an alcove, where the bed stands; and there is always a vast deal of the sheets hanging out, with a profusion of lace to them, and the same on the pillows. They have a false door to the alcove, which sometimes is very convenient. Besides, there are generally two other rooms, one within another, and the kitchen and other offices are detached from the house, either at one side, or at the end of the garden.

The ladies are fond of having their Mulatto female slaves dressed almost as well as themselves in every respect, excepting jewels, in which they indulge themselves to the utmost extravagance. Paraguay tea, which they call matte, as I mentioned before, is always drunk twice a day: this is brought upon a large silver salver, with four legs raised upon it, to receive a little cup made out of a small calabash or gourd, and tipped with silver. They put the herb first into this, and add what sugar they please, and a little orange juice; and then pour hot water on them, and drink it immediately through the conveyance of a long silver tube, at the end of which there is a round strainer, to prevent the herb getting through. And here it is reckoned a piece of politeness for the lady to suck the tube two or three times first, and then give it the stranger to drink without wiping it.

They eat every thing so highly seasoned with red pepper, that those who are not used to it, upon the first mouthful would imagine their throats on fire for an hour afterwards; and it is a common custom here, though you have the greatest plenty at your own table, to have two or three Mulatto girls come in at the time you dine, bringing, in a little silver plate, some of these high-seasoned ragouts, with

a compliment

a compliment from Donna such-a-one, who desires you will eat a little bit of what she has sent you, which must be done before her Mulatto's face, or it would be deemed a great affront. Had this been the fashion at Chiloe, we should never have offended; but sometimes here we could have wished this ceremony omitted.

The president never asked any of us a second time to his table. He expected us once a fortnight to be at his levee, which we never failed, and he always received us very politely. He was a man of a very amiable character, and much respected by every body in Chili, and some time after we left that country was appointed viceroy of Peru.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Account of the Bull Feasts and other Amusements.—Occurrences during nearly two Years Residence.—In December, 1744, we embark for Europe in the Lys French Frigate.—The Vessel leaky.—Dangerous Voyage.—Narrow Escape from English Cruizers.—Arrival in England.—Conclusion.*

We had leave, whenever we asked it, to make an excursion into the country for ten or twelve days at a time, which we did sometimes to a very pleasant spot belonging to Don Joseph Dunose, a French gentleman, and a very sensible well-bred man, who had married a very agreeable lady at St Jago, with a good fortune. We also sometimes had invitations from the Spaniards to their country houses. We had a numerous acquaintance in the city, and in general received many civilities from the inhabitants. There are a great many people of fashion, and very good families from Old Spain settled here. A lady lived next door to us, whose name was Donna Francisca Giron; and as my name sounded something like it, she would have it that we were parientes. She had a daughter, a very fine young woman, who both played and sung remarkably well: she was reckoned the finest voice in St Jago. They saw a great deal of company

company, and we were welcome to her house whenever we pleased. We were a long time in this country, but we passed it very agreeably. The president alone goes with four horses to his coach; but the common vehicle here is a calash, or kind of vis-a-vis, drawn by one mule only.

Bull-feasts are a common diversion here, and surpass any thing of that kind I ever saw at Lisbon, or any where else. Indeed, it is amazing to see the activity and dexterity of those who attack the bulls. It is always done here by those only who follow it as a trade, for it is too dangerous to be practised as a diversion; as a proof of which, it is found, that though some may hold out longer than others, there are few who constantly practise it that die a natural death. The bulls are always the wildest that can be brought in from the mountains or forests, and have nothing on their horns to prevent their piercing a man at the first stroke, as they have at Lisbon. I have seen a man, when the bull came at him with the utmost fury, spring directly over the beast's head, and perform this feat several times, and at last jump on his back, and there sit a considerable time, the bull the whole time attempting every means to throw him. But though this practitioner was successful, several accidents happened while I was there. The ladies, at these feasts, are always dressed as fine as possible; and, I imagine, go rather to be admired than to receive any amusement from a sight that one should think would give them pain.

Another amusement for the ladies here, are the nights of their great processions, when they go out veiled; and in that dress, they amuse themselves in talking to people much in the manner that is done at our masquerades. One night in Lent, as I was standing close to the houses while the procession went by, and having nothing but a thin waistcoat on under my cloak, and happening to have my arm out, a lady came by, and gave me a pinch with so good a will, that I thought she had taken the piece out; and, indeed, I carried the marks for a long time after. I durst not take the least notice of this at the time, for had I made any disturbance, I should have been knocked on the head. This kind lady immediately after mixed with the crowd, and I never could find out who had done me that favour. I have seen fifty or sixty penitents following these processions; they wear a long white garment with a long train to

to it, and high caps of the same, which fall down before and cover all their faces, having only two small holes for their eyes, so that they are never known. Their backs are bare, and they lash themselves with a cat-o'-nine-tails till the long train behind is covered all over with blood. Others follow them with great heavy crosses upon their backs, so that they groan under the weight as they walk barefooted, and often faint away. The streets swarm with friars of all the different orders. The president has always a guard at his palace regularly clothed. The rest of their forces consists of militia, who are numerous.

All European goods are very dear. English cloth of fourteen or fifteen shillings a yard, sells there for ten or eleven dollars, and every other article in proportion. We found many Spaniards here that had been taken by Commodore Anson, and had been for some time prisoners on board the Centurion. They all spoke in the highest terms of the kind treatment they had received; and it is natural to imagine, that it was chiefly owing to that laudable example of humanity our reception here was so good. They had never had any thing but privateers and buccaneers amongst them before, who handled their prisoners very roughly, so that the Spaniards in general, both of Peru and Chili, had the greatest dread of being taken by the English; but some of them told us, that they were so happy on board the Centurion, that they should not have been sorry if the commodore had taken them with him to England.

After we had been here some time, Mr Campbell changed his religion, and of course left us. At the end of two years, the president sent for us, and informed us a French ship from Lima, bound to Spain, had put into Valparaiso, and that we should embark in her. After taking leave of our good friend Mr Gedd, and all our acquaintance at St Jago, we set out for Valparaiso, mules and a guide being provided for us. I had forgot to say before, that Captain Cheap had been allowed by the president six reals a day, and we had four for our maintenance the whole time we were at St Jago, which money we took up as we wanted it. Our journey back was much pleasanter than we found it when we were first brought hither, as we had now no mules to drive. The first person I met, upon our entrance into Valparaiso, was the poor soldier whom I mentioned to have

have been so kind to us when we were imprisoned in the fort. I now made him a little present, which, as it came quite unexpected, made him very happy. We took lodgings till the ship was ready to sail, and diverted ourselves as we pleased, having the good fortune, at this time, to have nothing to do with the governor or his fort. The town is but a poor little place; there are, indeed, a good many storehouses built by the water-side for the reception of goods from the shipping.

About the 20th of December, 1744, we embarked on board the Lys frigate, belonging to St Malo. She was a ship of four hundred and twenty tons, sixteen guns, and sixty men. She had several passengers on board, and amongst the rest Don George Juan, a man of very superior abilities, (and since that time well known in England) who, with Don Antonio Ulloa, had been several years in Peru, upon a design of measuring some degrees of the meridian near the equator. We were now bound to Conception, in order to join three other French ships that were likewise bound home. As this was a time of the year when the southerly winds prevailed upon this coast, we stood off a long way to the westward, making the island of Juan Fernandez. We did not get into the Bay of Conception till the 6th of January, 1745, where we anchored at Talcaguana, and there found the Louis Erasme, the Marquis d'Antin, and the Delivrance, the three French ships that we were to accompany. It is but sixty leagues from Valparaiso to Conception, though we had been so long making this passage; but there is no beating up, near the shore, against the southerly wind, which is the trade at this season, as you are sure to have a lee-current; so that the quickest way of making a passage is to stand off a hundred and twenty or thirty leagues from the land.

The Bay of Conception is a large fine bay, but there are several shoals in it, and only two good anchoring places, though a ship may anchor within a quarter of a league of the town, but this only in the very fine months, as you lay much exposed. The best anchoring-place is Talcaguana, the southernmost neck of the bay, in five or six fathom water, good holding ground, and where you are sheltered from the northerly winds. The town has no other defence but a low battery, which only commands the anchoring-place

place before it. The country is extremely pleasant, and affords the greatest plenty of provisions of all kinds. In some excursions we made daily from Talcaguana, we saw great numbers of very large snakes, but we were told they were quite harmless.

I have read some former accounts of Chili, by the Jesuits, wherein they tell you that no venomous creature is to be found in it, and that they even made the experiment of bringing bugs here, which died immediately, but I never was in any place that swarmed with them so much as St Jago; and they have a large spider there, whose bite is so venomous, that I have seen from it some of the most shocking sights I ever saw in my life; and it certainly proves mortal, if proper remedies are not applied in time. I was once bit by one on the cheek whilst asleep, and presently after all that part of my face turned as black as ink. I was cured by the application of a bluish kind of stone (the same, perhaps, they call the serpent-stone in the East Indies, and which is a composition.) The stone stuck for some time of itself on my face, and dropping off, was put into milk till it had digested the poison it had extracted, and then applied again till the pain abated, and I was soon afterwards well.

Whilst the ships remained at Conception, the people were employed in killing of cattle and salting them for the voyage, and every ship took on board as many bullocks and sheep as their decks could well hold, and having completed their business here, they sailed the 27th of January; but about eight days after our ship sprung a very dangerous leak forward, but so low, that there was no possibility of stopping it without returning into port, and lightening her till they could come at it. Accordingly we separated from the other ships, and made the best of our way for Valparaiso, keeping all hands at the pump night and day, passengers and all. However, as it happened, this proved a lucky circumstance for the Lys, as the three other ships were taken, and which certainly would have been her fate likewise had she kept company with the rest. As soon as we got into port, they lightened the ship forwards, and brought her by the stern till they came at the leak, which was soon stopped. They made all the dispatch possible in completing the water again. Whilst at Valparaiso, we had one of the

the most violent shocks of an earthquake that we had ever felt yet.

On the first of March we put to sea again, the season being already far advanced for passing Cape Horn. The next day we went to an allowance of a quart of water a day for each man, which continued the whole passage. We were obliged to stand a long way to the westward, and went to the northward of Juan Fernandez above a degree, before we had a wind that we could make any southing with. On the 25th, in the latitude of 46 degrees, we met with a violent hard gale at west, which obliged us to lie-to under a reefed mainsail for some days, and before we got round the cape, we had many very hard gales, with a prodigious sea and constant thick snow; and after being so long in so delightful a climate as Chili, the cold was almost insupportable. After doubling the cape, we got but slowly to the northward; and indeed, at the best of times, the ship never went above six knots, for she was a heavy-going thing. On the 27th of May we crossed the Line, when finding that our water was grown extremely short, and that it would be almost impossible to reach Europe without a supply, it was resolved to bear away for Martinico. On the 29th of June, in the morning, we made the island of Tobago, and then shaped a course for Martinico, and on the first of July, by our reckonings, expected to see it, but were disappointed. This was imputed to the currents, which, whether they had set the ship to the eastward or westward, nobody could tell; but, upon looking over the charts, it was imagined, if the current had driven her to the westward, it must have been among the Granadillos, which was thought impossible without seeing any of them, as they are so near together, and a most dangerous place for rocks. It was then concluded we were to the eastward, and accordingly we steered S.W. by W.; but having run this course for above thirty leagues, and no land appearing, it was resolved to stand to the northward till we should gain the latitude of Porto Rico, and on the 4th in the evening we made that island, so that it was now certain the ship had been hustled through the Granadillos in the night, which was, without doubt, as extraordinary a passage as ever ship made.

It was now resolved to go between the islands of Porto Rico and St Domingo for Cape Francois, therefore we lay-to that night. In the morning, we made sail along shore; and

and about ten o'clock, as I was walking the quarter-deck, Captain Cheap came out of the cabin, and told me he had just seen a beef-barrel go by the ship, that he was sure it had but lately been thrown overboard, and that he would venture any wager we saw an English cruizer before long In about half an hour after, we saw two sail to leeward from off the quarter-deck, for they kept no look-out from the mast-head, and we presently observed they were in chace of us. The French and Spaniards on board now began to grow a good deal alarmed, when it fell stark calm, but not before the ships had neared us so much, that we plainly discerned them to be English men of war, the one a two-decker, the other a twenty-gun ship. The French had now thoughts, when a breeze should spring up, of running the ship on shore upon Porto Rico; but when they came to consider what a set of banditti inhabited that island, and that in all probability they would have their throats cut for the sake of plundering the wreck, they were resolved to take their chance, and stand to the northward between the two islands.

In the evening, a fresh breeze sprung up, and we shaped a course accordingly. The two ships had it presently afterwards, and neared us amazingly fast. Now every body on board gave themselves up; the officers were busy in their cabins filling their pockets with what was most valuable; the men put on their best clothes, and many of them came to me with little lumps of gold, desiring I would take them, as they said they had much rather I should benefit by them, whom they were acquainted with, than those that chaced them. I told them there was time enough, though I thought they were as surely taken as if the English had been already on board. A fine moonlight night came on, and we expected every moment to see the ships alongside of us; but we saw nothing of them in the night, and to our great astonishment in the morning no ships were to be seen even from the mast-head. Thus did these two cruizers lose one of the richest prizes by not chasing an hour or two longer. There were near two millions of dollars on board, besides a valuable cargo.

On the eighth, at six in the morning, we were off Cape La Grange; and, what is very remarkable, the French at Cape Francois told us afterwards that was the only day they ever remembered since the war, that the cape had been without

without one or two English privateers cruising off it; and but the evening before two of them had taken two outward-bound St Domingo-men, and had gone with them for Jamaica, so that this ship might be justly esteemed a most lucky one. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in Cape Francois harbour.

In this long run we had not buried a single man, nor do I remember that there was one sick the whole passage, but at this place many were taken ill, and three or four died, for there is no part of the West Indies more unhealthy than this; yet the country is beautiful, and extremely well cultivated. After being here some time, the governor ordered us to wait upon him, which we did, when he took no more notice of us than if we had been his slaves, never asking us even to sit down.

Towards the end of August, a French squadron of five men of war came in, commanded by Monsieur L'Etanducre, who were to convoy the trade to France. Neither he nor his officers ever took any kind of notice of Captain Cheap, though we met them every day ashore. One evening, as we were going aboard with the captain of our ship, a midshipman belonging to Monsieur L'Etanducre jumped into our boat, and ordered the people to carry him on board the ship he belonged to, leaving us to wait upon the beach for two hours before the boat returned.

On the sixth of September, we put to sea, in company with the five men of war and about fifty sail of merchantmen. On the eighth, we made the Cayco Grande; and the next day a Jamaica privateer, a large fine sloop, hove in sight, keeping a little to windward of the convoy, resolving to pick up one or two of them in the night if possible. This obliged Monsieur L'Etanducre to send a frigate to speak to all the convoy, and order them to keep close to him in the night, which they did, and in such a manner, that sometimes seven or eight of them were on board one another together, by which they received much damage; and to repair which, the whole squadron was obliged to lay-to sometimes for a whole day. The privateer kept her station, jogging on with the fleet. At last, the commodore ordered two of his best going ships to chace her. She appeared to take no notice of them till they were pretty near her, and then would make sail and be out of sight presently.

ly. The chacing ships no sooner returned, than the privateer was in company again.

As by this every night some accident happened to some of the convoy by keeping so close together, a fine ship of thirty guns, belonging to Marseilles, hauled out a little to windward of the rest of the fleet, which L'Etanducre perceiving in the morning, ordered the frigate to bring the captain of her on board of him; and then making a signal for all the convoy to close to him, he fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at the ensign staff, and immediately after the captain of the merchantman was run up to the main-yard-arm, and from thence ducked three times. He was then sent on board his ship again, with orders to keep his colours flying the whole day, in order to distinguish him from the rest. We were then told, that the person who was treated in this cruel manner was a young man of an exceeding good family in the south of France, and likewise a man of great spirit, and that he would not fail to call Monsieur L'Etanducre to an account when an opportunity should offer; and the affair made much noise in France afterwards. One day, the ship we were in happened to be out of her station, by sailing so heavily, when the commodore made the signal to speak to our captain, who seemed frightened out of his wits. When we came near him, he began with the grossest abuse, threatening our captain, that if ever he was out of his station again, he would serve him as he had done the other. This rigid discipline, however, preserved the convoy; for though the privateer kept company a long time, she was not so fortunate as to meet with the reward of her perseverance.

On the 27th of October, in the evening, we made Cape Ortegal, and on the 31st came to an anchor in Brest road. The Lys, having so valuable a cargo on board, was towed into the harbour next morning, and lashed alongside one of their men of war. The money was soon landed; and the officers and men, who had been so many years absent from their native country, were glad to get on shore. Nobody remained on board but a man or two to look after the ship, and we three English prisoners, who had no leave to go ashore. The weather was extremely cold, and felt particularly so to us, who had been so long used to hot climates; and what made it still worse, we were very thinly clad.

clad. We had neither fire nor candle, for they were allowed on board of no ship in the harbour for fear of accidents, being close to their magazines in the dock-yard. Some of the officers belonging to the ship were so kind as to send us off victuals every day, or we might have starved, for Monsieur L'Intendant never sent us even a message; and though there was a very large squadron of men of war fitting out at that time, not one officer belonging to them ever came near Captain Cheap. From five in the evening we were obliged to sit in the dark; and if we chose to have any supper, it was necessary to place it very near us before that time, or we never could have found it.

We had passed seven or eight days in this melancholy manner, when one morning a kind of row-galley came alongside with a number of English prisoners belonging to two large privateers the French had taken. We were ordered into the same boat with them, and were carried four leagues up the river to Landernaw. At this town we were upon our parole, so took the best lodgings we could get, and lived very well for three months, when an order came from the court of Spain to allow us to return home by the first ship that offered. Upon this, hearing there was a Dutch ship at Morlaix ready to sail, we took horses and travelled to that town, where we were obliged to remain six weeks before we had an opportunity of getting away. At last we agreed with the master of a Dutch dogger to land us at Dover, and paid him beforehand.

When we had got down the river into the road, a French privateer that was almost ready to sail upon a cruize, hailed the Dutchman, and told him to come to an anchor, and that if he offered to sail before him he would sink him. This he was forced to comply with, and lay three days in the road, cursing the Frenchman, who at the end of that time put to sea, and then we were at liberty to do the same. We had a long uncomfortable passage. About the ninth day, before sunset, we saw Dover, and reminded the Dutchman of his agreement to land us there. He said he would, but instead of that in the morning we were off the coast of France. We complained loudly of this piece of villainy, and insisted upon his returning to land us, when an English man of war appeared to windward, and presently bore down to us. She sent her boat on board with an officer, who informed us that the ship he came from was the Squirrel, commanded by Captain Masterton. We went on board of her,

her, and Captain Masterton immediately sent one of the cutters he had with him to land us at Dover, where we arrived that afternoon, and directly set out for Canterbury upon post-horses; but Captain Cheap was so tired by the time he got there, that he could proceed no farther that night.

The next morning he still found himself so much fatigued, that he could ride no longer; therefore it was agreed that he and Mr Hamilton should take a post-chaise, and that I should ride: but here an unlucky difficulty was started, for upon sharing the little money we had, it was found to be not sufficient to pay the charges to London; and my proportion fell so short, that it was, by calculation, barely enough to pay for horses, without a farthing for eating a bit upon the road, or even for the very turnpikes. Those I was obliged to defraud, by riding as hard as I could through them all, not paying the least regard to the men, who called out to stop me. The want of refreshment I bore as well as I could.

When I got to the Borough, I took a coach and drove to Marlborough-street, where my friends had lived when I left England; but when I came there, I found the house shut up. Having been absent so many years, and in all that time never having heard a word from home, I knew not who was dead or who was living, or where to go next, or even how to pay the coachman. I recollected a linen-draper's shop, not far from thence, which our family had used. I therefore drove there next, and making myself known, they paid the coachman. I then enquired after our family, and was told my sister had married Lord Carlisle, and was at that time in Soho-square. I immediately walked to the house, and knocked at the door; but the porter not liking my figure, which was half French half Spanish, with the addition of a large pair of boots covered with dirt, he was going to shut the door in my face, but I prevailed with him to let me come in.

I need not acquaint my readers with what surprise and joy my sister received me. She immediately furnished me with money sufficient to appear like the rest of my countrymen; and till that time I could not be properly said to have finished all the extraordinary scenes which a series of unfortunate adventures had kept me in for the space of five years and upwards.

A VOYAGE

A

# VOYAGE

TO

# THE SOUTH-SEAS,

IN THE YEARS 1740, AND 1741:

CONTAINING

A faithful NARRATIVE of the Loss of his Majesty's Ship the WAGER, on a desolate Island in the Latitude 47 South, Longitude 81: 40 West: With the Proceedings and Conduct of the Officers and Crew, and the Hardships they endured in the said Island for the Space of five Months; their bold Attempt for Liberty, in coasting the Southern Part of the vast Region of Patagonia; setting out with upwards of eighty Souls in their Boats; the Loss of the Cutter; their Passage through the Streights of Magellan; an Account of their Manner of Living in the Voyage on Seals, Wild Horses, Dogs, &c. and the incredible Hardships they frequently underwent for want of Food of any Kind; a Description of the several Places where they touched in the Streights of Magellan, with an Account of the Inhabitants, &c. and their safe Arrival to the Brazil, after sailing one thousand Leagues in a Long-boat; their Reception from the Portuguese; an Account of the Disturbances at Rio Grand; their Arrival at Rio Janeiro; their Passage and Usage on board a Portuguese Ship to Lisbon; and their Return to England.

Interspersed with many entertaining and curious Observations, not taken Notice of by Sir John Narborough, or any other Journalist.

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*The Whole compiled by Persons concerned in the Facts related,* viz.

JOHN BULKELEY AND JOHN CUMMINS,

Late Gunner and Carpenter of the WAGER.

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*Bold were the Men who on the Ocean first*
*Spread the new Sails, when Shipwreck was the worst;*
*More Dangers now from Man alone we find,*
*Than from the Rocks, the Billows, and the Wind.* WALLER.*

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* In reprinting this very curious and scarce Narrative, we have thought it proper to adhere to the orthography and contractions of the original throughout. The former are little different from the present standard, and the latter cannot give any trouble to the reader. Altogether, this is a composition not without merit sufficient to warrant its being preserved.—E.

# BULKELEY'S NARRATIVE.

TO

THE HONOURABLE

EDWARD VERNON, Esq.

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE, &c.

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SIR,

WE have presumed to put the following sheets under your protection, though we have not the honour of being personally known to you, nor have applied to you for the liberty of using your celebrated name on this occasion.

As this book is a faithful extract from the journals of two British seamen, late officers in his majesty's navy, we thought we could not more properly dedicate it than to a British Admiral.

We know your detestation of flattery; and you know, from long experience, that a British seaman hath a spirit too brave to stoop to so degenerate a practice.

The following pages, we hope, will recommend themselves to you, because they are written in a plain maritime style, and void of partiality and prejudice.

The distresses mentioned in this book have perhaps not been equalled in our age; and we question whether any navigators living have, for so long a continuance, suffered such variety of hardships, as the unfortunate people of the Wager.

After surviving the loss of the ship, and combating with famine and innumerable difficulties, a remnant of us are returned to our native country; but even here we are still unfortunate, destitute of employment, almost without sup-

port, or any prospect of being restored to our stations, till some important questions are decided, which cannot be cleared up till the arrival of our late captain, or at least the commodore.

We, sir, who present you with this book, have been several years in the navy, and thought ourselves well acquainted with its laws and discipline, and have many certificates to produce, that we have always acted in obedience to command; but the proceedings of the officers and people, since the loss of the ship, are reckoned so dark and intricate, that we know not what to expect, nor what will be the result of our superiors determination.

The only consolation, we have in our present anxiety, is placed in a confidence of the unbiassed integrity, justice, and humanity of the right honourable persons who will one day determine for or against us.

When you read our account of the affair, you'll find the facts impartially related, the whole narrative written without the least shadow of prejudice or malice, and no more in favour of ourselves, than of the other officers concerned: We stand or fall by the truth; if truth will not support us, nothing can.

In our voyage from the Brazil to Lisbon, we were obliged to you for the generous treatment we met with from an enemy, a subject of Spain, a person of distinction, and a passenger in the same ship: your virtues have procured you the esteem even of your enemies.

Your zeal for the national service deserves the love of every honest Briton: to leave an abundant fortune, your family, and your country, to hazard your life in the most perilous expeditions, with no other motive than to retrieve the honour of the nation, shows the spirit of a true British hero, and deserves the highest commendations.

That you, sir, may never deviate from your integrity, but continue a terror to the enemies of Britain, an honour to his majesty's service, and an ornament to your country, are the sincere wishes of,

Honourable Sir,
Your most dutiful,
And most obedient
Humble Servants,
John Bulkeley,
John Cummins.

# BULKELEY'S NARRATIVE.

## PREFACE.

As an Introduction, we think proper to acquaint the reader with our reasons for causing the following sheets to be made public to the world. The chief motive which induced us to this task, was to clear our characters, which have been exceedingly blemished by persons who, (next to Heaven) owe the preservation of their lives to our skill and indefatigable care; and who having an opportunity of arriving before us in England, have endeavoured to raise their reputation on the ruin of ours.

It will appear to the reader, on perusal of the following pages, that this journal was attempted to be taken from us by violence at Rio Janeiro; that we have preserved it at the hazard of our lives; that there was no journal kept after the loss of the ship, by any officers but ourselves; and if we had not been careful in making remarks on each day's transactions, persons must have continued in the dark, in relation to all the subsequent proceedings.

It is a very usual thing to publish voyages, especially when the navigators have met with any extraordinary events. We believe our expedition, though it was not a secret, is allowed to be an extraordinary one, consequently attended with extraordinary events: Indeed, while the commodore was with us, every thing went well; but when the squadron separated, things began to have a new face: After the loss of the Wager, there was a general disorder and confusion among the people, who were now no longer implicitly obedient. There were two seamen particularly, who propagated this confusion, they said they had suffered shipwreck in his majesty's ship the Biddeford, and received no wages from the day that the ship was lost; that when they were out of pay, they looked upon themselves as their

own

own masters, and no longer subjected to command. The people, however, were not altogether infected, but still continued to pay a dutiful respect to their commander; but when the captain had rashly shot Mr Cozens, (whose fate the reader will find particularly related) they then grew very turbulent and unruly; the captain daily lost the love of the men, who with their affection lost their duty.

Our confining the captain is thought an audacious and unprecedented action, and our not bringing him home with us is reckoned worse; but the reader will find that necessity absolutely compelled us to act as we did, and that we had sufficient reasons for leaving him behind.

Our attempt for liberty, in sailing to the southward through the straits of Magellan, with such a number of people stowed in a long-boat, has been censured as a mad undertaking: Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; had we gone to the northward, there appeared no probability of escaping the Spaniards, and when we had fallen into their hands, 'tis not unlikely but they might have employed us as drudges in their mines for life; therefore we rather chose to encounter all difficulties than to become slaves to a merciless enemy.

Some persons have objected against our capacity for keeping a journal of this nature; but several judges of maritime affairs allow this work to be exact and regular. We think persons with a common share of understanding, are capable of committing to paper daily remarks of matter worthy their observation, especially of facts in which they themselves had so large a share. We only relate such things as could not possibly escape our knowledge, and what we actually know to be true. We don't set up for naturalists and men of great learning, therefore have avoided meddling with things above our capacity.

We are also condemned by many for being too busy and active for persons in our stations. There was a necessity for action, and a great deal of it too; and had we been as indolent and regardless for the preservation of the people, as others who were superior in command, there would not have been a single man who was shipwrecked in the Wager, now in England to give any relation of the matter.

The gentleman who commanded in the long-boat, on his arrival before us at Lisbon, represented us to the English merchants in a very vile light; we were even advised by

some

some of our friends there not to return to our country, lest we would suffer death for mutiny. But when the gentlemen of the factory had perused our journal, they found, if there was any mutiny in the case, the very person who accused us was the ringleader and chief mutineer. We were confident of our own innocence, and determined to see our country at all events, being positive that we have acted to the best of our understandings, in all respects, for the preservation of our lives and liberties; and when our superiors shall think proper to call us to an account, which we expect will be at the commodore's arrival, we do not doubt but we shall clear ourselves in spite of all invidious reflections and malicious imputations.

It has been hinted to us, as if publishing this journal would give offence to some persons of distinction. We can't conceive how any transactions relating to the Wager, although made ever so public, can give offence to any great man at home. Can it be any offence to tell the world that we were shipwrecked in the Wager, when all people know it already? Don't they know that the Wager was one of his majesty's store-ships? That we had on board not only naval stores, but other kind of stores, of an immense value? Don't they also know that we went abroad with hopes of acquiring great riches, but are return'd home as poor as beggars? We are guilty of no indecent reproaches, or unmannerly reflections; though, it is certain, we cannot but lament our being engaged in so fatal an expedition. When persons have surmounted great difficulties, it is a pleasure for them to relate their story; and if we give ourselves this satisfaction, who has any cause to be offended? Are we, who have faced death in so many shapes, to be intimidated, lest we should give offence to the —— Lord knows whom? We never saw a satyrical journal in our lives, and we thought that kind of writing was the most obnoxious to give offence.

It has been a thing usual, in publishing of voyages, to introduce abundance of fiction; and some authors have been esteemed merely for being marvellous. We have taken care to deviate from those, by having a strict regard to truth. There are undoubtedly in this book some things which will appear incredible.

The account we give of the Patagonian Indians, and our own distresses, though ever so well attested, will not easily

obtain credit; and people will hardly believe that human nature could possibly support the miseries that we have endured.

All the difficulties related we have actually endured, and perhaps must endure more: Till the commodore's arrival we cannot know our fate; at present we are out of all employment, and have nothing to support ourselves and families, but the profits arising from the sale of our journal; which perhaps may be the sum total we shall ever receive for our voyage to the South Seas.

A

# VOYAGE

TO THE

# SOUTH SEAS.

ON Thursday the 18th of September, 1740, sailed from St Hellens his majesty's ship Centurion, Commodore Anson, with the Gloucester, Pearl, Severn, Wager, and Tryal, and two store-ships; this squadron was designed round Cape-Horn into the South Seas, to distress the Spaniards in those parts. The ships were all in prime order, all lately rebuilt. The men were elevated with hopes of growing immensely rich, and in a few years of returning to Old England loaden with the wealth of their enemies.

Saturday, the 20th, the Ram-head bearing N. by W., distant four leagues, the commodore hoisted his pendant, and was saluted by every ship in the squadron, with thirteen guns each. This day joined company with us his majesty's ships Dragon, Winchester, South-Sea-Castle, and Rye-Galley, with a large convoy of merchant ships.

Thursday, the 25th, we parted company with the Winchester and the South-Sea-Castle, with their convoys, bound for America.

On Monday, we parted company with the Streights and Turkey convoys.

Friday, October the 3d, at eight in the morning, we saw two brigantines to the south-east; the commodore gave a signal to chace, at nine fired two shots to bring 'em to, at ten spoke with the chace, being two brigs from Lisbon, bound for New York.

Sunday, the 26th, about five in the morning, the Severn shewed lights, and fired several guns a-head; soon after we saw

saw the land bearing W. by S., and at noon the east end of Madeira bore north, distant five leagues.

Wednesday, we moored in Fonchiale road, so called from a city of that name, which is the metropolis of the island of Madeira; here we employed most of our time in getting aboard water, and stowing our dry provisions between decks.

Tuesday, November the 4th, Captain Kidd our commander was removed on board the Pearl, and the Honourable Captain Murray succeeded him in the Wager. Captain Norris of the Gloucester having obtained leave to return to England, on account of his ill state of health, occasioned the above removals.

While we lay at Madeira, we were informed of ten sail of ships cruising off and on, to the westward, these ships were judged to be French, and had been seen every day for a week before our arrival: The commodore sent out a privateer sloop, but she returned the day following, without seeing 'em, so that we can give no account of 'em.

On Wednesday, the 5th, we sailed from Madeira. On the 20th the Industry store-ship parted company, and on Friday the 28th, by account, we crossed the equinoctial.

On the 17th of December, we saw the island of St Catharine, at noon, the northmost land in sight bore W.N.W., and the southmost S.W. by W. Variation per amplitude 12; 57 easterly.

On the 18th, the north end of the island of St Catharine bore N.W. by W., distant seven leagues, and the island of Gaul bore N.W., distant six leagues.

On the 19th we anchored in St Catharine's bay, in upward of twelve fathom water, the island Gaul on the coast of Brazil, bearing N. by E., distant four leagues. On the 20th, we anchored in St Catharine's road, and the day following, we moored between the island of St Catharine and the main.

On Monday, the 22d, the commodore ordered fresh beef for the sick people.

On the 27th, came in a Portuguese brig from Rio Janeiro, for the Rio Grand: While we lay here, the people were generally employed in over-hauling the rigging, and getting aboard water.

On the 17th of January, 1741, we sailed from St Catharine's, the commodore saluted the fort with eleven guns, the fort returned the same number.

On

On Thursday, the 22d, we lost sight of the Pearl.

On Tuesday, the 17th of February, the Pearl joined the squadron, and on the 19th we came to anchor off the river of St Julian's, on the coast of Patagonia; St Julian's hill bearing S.W. by W., and the southmost land in sight S. by E., distant from the shore three leagues. This day our captain, the Honourable George Murray, took command on board the Pearl, Captain Kidd having died on the voyage since we left St Catharine's.

Captain Kidd was heard to say, a few days before his death, that this voyage, which both officers and sailors had engaged in with so much cheerfulness and alacrity, would prove in the end very far from their expectations, notwithstanding the vast treasure they imagined to gain by it; that it would end in poverty, vermin, famine, death, and destruction. How far the captain's words were prophetic will appear in the course of our journal. Captain C——p succeeded Captain Murray on board the Wager.

On the 26th of February, we sent on board the Pearl twelve butts and two puncheons of water, the Pearl having, while she was separated from us, been chased by five large Spanish men of war, the commander in chief being distinguished by a red broad pendant with a swallow's tail at his main-top-mast head, and a red flag at his ensign-staff: During the chace, the Pearl, in order to clear ship, threw overboard and stove fourteen tons of water; she likewise stove the long-boat, and threw her overboard, with oars, sails, and booms, and made all clear for engaging, but night coming on, at seven o'clock lost sight of the enemy, at five in the morning saw the Spanish ships from the mast-head, two points on the lee-quarter, still giving chace, and crowding all the sail they could, but at nine the Pearl lost sight of 'em entirely. We judged this to be admiral Pizarro's squadron, sent out in pursuit of Commodore Anson. Had our ships united fallen in with 'em, 'tis probable we might have given a good account of 'em. While we lay at St Julian's we saw the sea full of shrimps, and red as if they were boiled, the water appeared tinctured to that degree, that it looked like blood.

On the 27th, we sent on board the Pearl four puncheons of water more; at six in the morning, the commodore made signal to weigh, at eight weighed, and came to sail; this day we lost sight of the Gloucester.

The

The 28th, the Gloucester came into the squadron again.

On the 7th of March we passed through the Streights of Le Mair; Cape Diego, on the island of Terra de Fuego, bore N.W., three leagues, and the west end of the island, Staten Land, bore E.N.E., distant four leagues, the squadron under reeft courses.

On the 10th, we lost sight of the Ann pink, on the 12th carried away the rails and timbers of the head on both sides.

On the 16th, the Ann pink joined the squadron again.

On the 30th, the Gloucester broke her main-yard in the slings.

April the 1st, the commodore ordered Mr Cummins, the carpenter, on board the Gloucester.

On the 8th, carried away the mizen-mast, two feet above the awning; there was no sail on the mast. Upon the rowl of a sea, all the chain-plates to windward broke, lat. 56, 31, long. 87. 4, west. At noon Cape St Bartholomew bore north, 84 deg. E., distant 229 leagues.

The 10th, lost sight of the Severn and Pearl, lat. 56, 29, long. 85 west. At ten last night fell in with two small islands; at eight in the morning the islands bore N.N.W., by the compass distant eight leagues, in the latitude 54, 00 south; we took 'em for the islands which lay off Brewer's Streights, lat. 54, 50 south, long. 84, 56 west.

On the 12th, we had very hard gales at west, with the largest swell I ever saw; I was officer of the watch (though I was gunner of the ship, I had the charge of a watch during the whole voyage); we had our larboard tacks on board: Between six and seven in the morning, holding by the topsail hallyards to wind-ward, there broke a sea in the ship, which carried me over the wheel, bilged the cutter, and canted her over the sheet's bottom up athwart the barge; it likewise half filled the long-boat; the boatswain was for heaving the cutter overboard, I order'd him to do nothing with her till I had acquainted the captain, who was then very ill in his cabin: The captain desired me to use all means to save the cutter; at the same time I ask'd leave to skuttle the long-boat, and get the sprit-sail yard and jib in, for fear of endangering the bowsprit; which he ordered to be done, and told me, it was a very great misfortune that he should be ill at such a time. When I came from the captain, I found the lieutenant on the deck, got the cutter in her place, skuttled the long-boat, and got the sprit-sail yard

yard and jib-boom in. The carpenter is still aboard the Gloucester.

The 13th, under reeft courses, the larboard tacks; the commodore being on the weather quarter, bore down under our lee, and spoke with us. He ask'd the captain, if the carpenter was returned from the Gloucester? The captain answer'd, No; and am surprised Captain M——d should detain him, when he knows I must want him about my mizen-mast. The commodore told him he would speak with the Gloucester, and order him on board. He then ask'd the captain why he did not set the main-top-sail, and make more sail? Captain C——p made answer, My rigging is all gone, and broke fore and aft, and my people almost all taken ill, and down; but I will set him as soon as possible. The commodore desired he would, and make what sail he could after him.

The 14th, the carpenter return'd from the Gloucester, it being the only day this fortnight a boat could live in the sea. As soon as the carpenter came on board, he waited on the captain, who order'd him to look on the chain-plates and chains, and give his opinion of the mast's going away. The carpenter look'd as order'd, and gave Captain C——p for answer, that the chain-plates were all broke. The captain shook his head, and said, Carpenter, that is not the reason of the mast's going away. The carpenter, not willing, as the mast was gone, to lay it to any one's mismanagement, or to occasion any uneasiness about what was now past prevention, fitted a cap on the stump of the mizen-mast, got up a lower studding-sail boom of 40 feet, and hoisted a sail to keep the ship to.

To-day, being the 19th, and the finest day we had in these seas, we were employ'd in repairing the rigging; we bent a new main-sail and reeft him, as did the Anne pink, the Gloucester at the same time fix'd her main-yard, the commodore and Tryal keeping a-head, and at a considerable distance; between four and six at night saw the commodore's light. At six, being relieved by the master, he could not see the commodore's light, though it was visible to every one else on the quarter-deck: The master still persisted he could not see it, on which I went and acquainted the captain, who came upon deck, and seeing the light, ask'd the master where his eyes were? This was the last time I ever saw the commodore. The lieutenant having the

the first watch lost sight of him at nine o'clock, and at ten was obliged to hand the foresail, in doing of which we lost a seaman over-board. We saw the Gloucester and Anne pink a-stern in the morning, but they were soon gone a-head, and out of sight.

The 21st, as I was in the steward's room, Joseph King, seaman, came for a pound of bread. I heard him ask the steward, if he thought they would be serv'd with the same quantity of water as before? Without waiting for an answer, No G—d d——n 'em, as the commodore was parted, they should find the difference. Not knowing the conseqence of this, or by whom the fellow might be spirited up, I acquainted the captain with the affair, who order'd me to deliver a brace of pistols charg'd with a brace of balls to every officer in the ship who wanted 'em, and to take no farther notice of the matter.

May the 1st. This day the officers were call'd, and their opinions ask'd concerning the best bower-anchor, resolved to cut the anchor away, for fear of endangering the ship, there being no possibility of securing it without putting our fore-mast in extreme danger, the shrouds and chain-plates being all broke.

Fourteen days before the loss of the ship, the wind at S. and S.S.W., steered N.W. by N., and N.N.W. by the compass: Laid the ship to for the first four nights; the meaning of this I could not learn. I ask'd the lieutenant the reason of our bearing for the land on a lee shore, when we had a fair wind for our rendezvous, which I had always thought was for the island of Juan Ferdinandez. The lieutenant told me the rendezvous was alter'd to an island in the latitude of 44 S. Upon this I said to the lieutenant, this was a very great misfortune to us, that we can do nothing with the ship in the condition she is in upon a lee shore, and am surpriz'd that we should be obliged to go there. The lieutenant told me, he had said every thing to dissuade the captain from it, but found him determin'd to go there. The fifth night, and every night after, made sail; the wind to the westward. I never relieved the lieutenant, but I ask'd him, what he thought of a lee shore with the ship in this condition? he always reply'd, he could not tell. We saw rock-weed in abundance pass by the ship. The Honourable J——n B——n, midshipman, being on the quarter-deck, said, We can't be far off the land by these weeds.

weeds. The lieutenant and mate being by, I said, Gentlemen, what can we do with the ship in the miserable condition she is in on a lee shore? The lieutenant answer'd, Whenever I have been with the captain since our first lying-to, I always persuaded him to go for Juan Ferdinandez; therefore I would have you go to him, he may be persuaded by you tho' he will not by me. I said, If that was the case, my going to him is needless. In a quarter of an hour afterwards, the captain sent for me, and said, Gunner, what longitude have you made? I told him 82, 30. What distance do you reckon yourself off the land? I answer'd, About 60 leagues; but if the two islands we saw are those which are laid down in your chart to lie off Brewer's Streights, and the same current continues with the western swell, we can't be above a third part of the distance off the land. The captain made answer, As for the currents, there is no account to be given for 'em; sometimes they set one way, and sometime another. I said, Sir, very true, but as the ship has been always under reeft courses, and the mizen-mast gone, she must wholly drive to leeward, and nigher the land than expected. The captain then told me, I suppose you are not unacquainted of my rendezvous for the island of Nostra Signora di Socora, in the latitude of 44. I reply'd, Sir, the ship is in a very bad condition to come in with the lee shore, and if it is possible to bring the ship to an anchor, we shall never purchase him again. The captain answered, I don't design to come to an anchor; for there are soundings until you come within seven leagues of the land. I purpose to stand off and on twenty-four hours; and if I don't see the commodore, or any of the squadron in that time, we will go for Juan Ferdinandez. To this I said, Sir, the ship is a perfect wreck; our mizen-mast gone, with our standing rigging afore and abaft, and all our people down; therefore I can't see what we can do in with the land. The captain's answer was, It does not signify, I am obliged and determin'd to go for the first rendezvous.

On the 13th, at eight in the morning, the straps of the fore-jeer blocks broke; reev'd the top ropes, and lower'd the yard; went to strapping the blocks. At nine, the carpenter going forward to inspect the chain-plates, saw the land from the fore-castle, on which he ask'd the boatswain's mate, who was by him, if he saw the land? he answer'd, No; the carpenter shew'd it him and he saw it plain. The carpenter

carpenter then shew'd it to the lieutenant, but he would not believe it to be land, because it bore N.N.W., and said it was impossible; therefore he never inform'd the captain of the sight of land, as the Honourable Mr B——n hath heard the captain say. At two in the afternoon lower'd the fore-yard, and hawl'd the fore-sail up; notwithstanding I was officer of the watch, I was oblig'd to go upon the fore-yard, where was Mr Campbell, midshipman, one boatswain's mate, four seamen, and the master's servant, which were all the hands we could get out of the ship's company to assist. Whilst on the yard I saw the land very plain, on the lard-board beam, bearing N.W. half N., nearest high land, with hillocks, and one remarkable hommocoe like a sugar loaf, very high. At the sight of land I came off the fore-yard and acquainted the captain. He immediately gave orders to sway the fore-yard up, and set the fore-sail; then we wore ship with her head to the southward. The captain coming forward unhappily received a fall, which dislocated his shoulder, so that he was obliged to be put into the surgeon's cabin. Some time after he sent for the lieutenant and myself, acquainting us of the necessity there was for making sail, as being on a lee shore, therefore desired we would use our utmost endeavours to crowd the ship off. You see, gentlemen, said he, my misfortune will not permit me to continue on the deck; as for the master, he is not worthy of the charge of a watch, therefore I must desire you, Mr Bulkeley, to be in the watch with him, and to make but two watches; keep a good look-out, and if possible, set the main-top sail. Mr B——s, I must desire Mr Cummins to be with you, and beg you will take all the care you can. I having the first watch, set the main fore and mizen stay sail, it blew so hard I found it impossible to set the main-top sail, of which I acquainted the captain: All the hands we cou'd muster in both watches, officers included, were but twelve, the rest of the ship's company were all sick below; I very often could get no more than three seamen in my watch. The ship for these three weeks hath been no better than a wreck, the mizen-mast gone, the standing rigging and chain-plates, afore and abaft, mostly broke and ruin'd. The top sails now at the yards are so bad, that if we attempt to loose 'em for making sail, we are in danger of splitting 'em, and we have not a spare sail in the ship that can be brought to the yard without being repair'd.

This

This is the present deplorable situation of the ship. All the first and middle watch it blow'd and rain'd, and withal so very dark, that we could not see the length of the ship: For the greatest part of the night she came up no nearer than S. by W., and S.S.W. At four in the morning she came up with her head west, so that her head was then off the shore.

Thursday, May the 14th, 1741, at half an hour past four this morning, the ship struck abaft on a sunken rock, sounded fourteen fathom; but it being impossible to let go the anchor time enough to bring her up, being surrounded on every side with rocks, (a very dismal prospect to behold!) the ship struck a second time, which broke the head of the tiller, so that we were obliged to steer her with the main and fore-sheets, by easing off one, and hawling aft the other, as she came to, or fell off. In a short time after, she struck, bilged, and grounded, between two small islands, where Providence directed us to such a place as we could save our lives. When the ship struck it was about break of day, and not above a musket-shot from the shore. Launched the barge, cutter, and yawl over the gunnel, cut main and fore-mast by the board, and the sheet-anchor from the gunnel. The captain sent the barge ashore, with Mr S—w, the mate, to see if the place was inhabited, and to return aboard directly; but, without any regard to his duty, or the preservation of the lives of the people, he staid ashore. The barge not returning as expected, the lieutenant was sent in the yawl, with orders to bring off the barge. The lieutenant tarried ashore, but sent off the boat. As soon as the boat came on board, the captain being very ill, was persuaded by the officers to go ashore: With the captain went the land-officers, mate, and midshipmen, the officers remaining on board were the master, boatswain, gunner, and carpenter: The boatswain, who was laid up a month before the loss of the ship, became of a sudden very vigorous and active. At night it blow'd very hard at north, with a great tumbling sea, we expected every moment that the ship would part, fetching such jirks and twistings as shock'd every person aboard, who had the least care for the preservation of life; yet, in the dismal situation we were in, we had several in the ship so thoughtless of their danger, so stupid and insensible of their misery, that upon the principal officers leaving her, they fell into the most violent outrage

outrage and disorder: They began with broaching the wine in the lazaretto; then to breaking open cabins and chests, arming themselves with swords and pistols, threatening to murder those who should oppose or question them: Being drunk and mad with liquor, they plunder'd chests and cabins for money and other things of value, cloathed themselves in the richest apparel they could find, and imagined themselves lords paramount.

Friday the 15th, the ship was bilged in the mid-ship, on a great rock; we took care to secure some powder, ball, and a little bread. In the afternoon, the carpenter and myself went ashore with several of those imaginary lords in the rich attire they had plunder'd yesterday; but upon the purser, and Lieutenant Hamilton of marines, presenting pistols to some of their breasts, those grandees suffer'd themselves very quietly to be disrob'd of all their greatness, and in a few minutes look'd like a parcel of transported fellons. On our coming ashore, we found the captain had taken his lodging in a little hut, supposed to be built by Indians; as for our parts, we were forced to take shelter under a great tree, where we made a large fire, but it rain'd so hard, that it had almost cost us our lives; an invalid died that very night on the spot. Before I left the ship I went to my cabin for my journal, but could not find it; I believe it is destroyed with the rest, for there is not one journal to be produced, we have good reason to apprehend there was a person employ'd to destroy them; I afterwards found part of the master's journal along shore, tore to pieces: Whatever is related in this book, preceding the loss of the Wager, is extracted from a journal belonging to a gentleman, lately an officer on board the Pearl. After we lost sight of the Pearl, I was obliged to have recourse to my memory, which I believe has been very faithful to me. From the time we were ship-wreck'd, the carpenter and myself were exceeding careful in writing each day's transactions: Had other persons taken the same care, there would be no necessity of imposing upon the publick a partial and inconsistent narrative, instead of a faithful relation of facts.

On the 16th, the weather very boisterous and a great sea, the boatswain wanted a boat, but finding no appearance of any coming aboard, brought a quarter-deck gun, a four pounder, to bear on the captain's hut, and fir'd two shot, which went just over the captain's tent. This day, being

being resolv'd to contrive something like a house, to secure us from the inclemency of the rain, and severity of the weather, we hawl'd up the cutter, and propping her up, we made a tolerable habitation. As for food, this island produces none; nor is there any vegetable upon it but cellery, which grows here in abundance, and is of great use to us, the men being in general very much troubled with the scurvy.

On the 17th of May, being Whitsunday, got several wild fowls, and plenty of muscles, limpets, and other shell-fish, which we find very refreshing, having subsisted a long time on nothing but salt provisions.

The 18th, went on board the ship, to see if it was possible to come at any provisions; got out of the Lazaretto two casks of flour and some wine, which were very useful.

On the 19th, went aboard again to scuttle the decks, in order to get some beef and pork out of the hold; we also scuttled the carpenter's store-room for nails and other things of service.

The 20th, cut away the gunnel to get the long-boat out, which was done. To-day we found several men dead, and some drowned, in the ship, suppos'd to have drank till they were not able to get from the water, as it flowed into the ship. While we were aboard working on the wreck, there came along-side a canoe with several Indians, bowing and crossing themselves, giving us to understand they were inclinable to the Romish religion; we gave 'em out of the ship two bales of cloth and sent them ashore to the captain, he gave them hats, and presented each of them with a soldier's coat. They had abundance of the largest and best muscles I ever saw, or tasted. This day was the first time of the boatswain's coming ashore; the captain called him rogue and villain, and felled him to the ground with his cane, so that he was motionless, and to appearance dead; when he had recovered the blow, and saw a cock'd pistol in the captain's hand, he offered his naked breast; the captain told him, he deserved to be shot, and said no more to him. The captain, lieutenant H——n of marines, the surgeon, and purser, always appear'd in arms on the beach, on the coming ashore of every boat, in order to prevent the people bringing any thing from the ship in a clandestine manner; they were so cautious of any thing being imbezzled, that they would not suffer the boats to go off and work by night, notwithstanding the moon, tides, and fair-

ness of weather were more favourable to us by night than day; by this we omitted several opportunities of getting our provisions, and other useful things, which we shall shortly stand in great need of.

The 21st, continue to scuttle between decks, in getting necessaries out of the ship, found several men dead.

The 22d, the Indians brought us three sheep and some muscles. They are a people of a small stature, well shaped, of an olive complection, with black hair, in behaviour very civil, they have little clothes, except about their waists, notwithstanding the climate is very cold. They stay'd all night, it being very rainy weather, and has been ever since we have been here, the wind blowing from N. to N. W.

Saturday the 23d, the wind from the E.N.E. to north, fell abundance of snow, insomuch that the mountains are cover'd with it. It freezes very hard, and we find it extremely cold. The next day, the same weather, we went aboard, and scuttled for flour in the forehold.

The 25th, little wind at N.E. and frosty weather, went aboard again, and got out of the forehold eight barrels of flour, one cask of pease, with some brandy and wine. This day went to allowance, of half a pound of flour per man, and one piece of pork for three men, it being the first time of serving since on shore.

The 26th, we got out more casks of flour, one cask of oatmeal, with some brandy and wine. In the evening the Indians came with their wives, we gave the women hats, and the men breeches; they made signs as if they would bring more sheep.

On the 27th, we scuttled over the captain's store-room, got out several casks of rum and wine, and brought them ashore. This was the first time of the lieutenant's being between decks since the loss of the ship. The following day we went aboard, cut down and tost overboard the ship's awning, to make a deck for the long-boat.

Since the 27th, we have been employ'd in getting up the long-boat, and repairing the barge which had been stove ashore. Rainy weather.

On Wednesday, the 3d of June, hard gales of wind at N. N. W., with abundance of rain; deserted this day James Mitchel, carpenter's mate, John Russel, armourer, William Oram, carpenter's crew, Joseph King, John Redwood, boatswain's yeomen, Dennis O'Lawry, John Davis, James

James Roach, James Stewart, and William Thompson, seamen. Took up, along shore, one hogshead of brandy, and several things that drove out of the ship, a bale of cloth, hats, shoes, and other necessaries. An information was given, this day, by David Buckley, to the captain, that there was a design to blow him up, with the surgeon, and lieutenant H——n of marines. The train was actually found, laid by the deserters, to blow 'em up the night before they went off.

Thursday the 4th, we finished the boats, and shot several wild geese. Finding murmurings and discontents among the people, we secured the oars, and hawled up the boats, being apprehensive they would go away with them by night.

The 5th, we went on board the ship, found several casks of wine and brandy between decks, most part of the planks between decks gone, and some strakes to wind-ward started out, part of the upper deck blown up, the stumps of the masts and pumps risen five feet; brought ashore one cask of flour, with some stuff for the use of the long-boat; and two quarter casks of wine; the wind at S. by E.

Saturday the 6th, the wind at south and fair weather, we went aboard, got out of the hold eight casks of flour, two casks of wine, and a quarter cask and three hogsheads of brandy. The lieutenant went to the Indians, but could not find 'em, being inform'd by the deserters that they were gone.

On Sunday the 7th, we went aboard the ship, got out a cask of pork, two barrels of flour, started one pipe of wine, and brought it ashore, with a quarter cask of pease, some bales of cloth, and carpenter's stores. This day Mr Henry Cozens, midshipman, was confin'd by the captain; the fault alledg'd against him was drunkenness. We learn from Nicholas Griselham, seaman, who was present and near the captain all the time, that as Mr Cozens was rowling up a steep beach a cask of pease, he found it too heavy for him, and left off rowling; the captain seeing this, told him he was drunk, Mr Cozens reply'd, With what should I get drunk, unless it be with water? The captain then said, You scoundrel, get more hands, and rowl the cask up: Cozens called for more hands, but no people came; with that the captain struck him with his cane. Griselham likewise says, that Cozens talked to the captain about one Captain

Sh—lv—k;

Sh—lv—k; but the words he does not remember. But the same night I heard Mr Cozens use very unbecoming language to the captain, telling him, That he was come into those seas to pay Sh—lv—k's debts, and also insolently added, Tho' Sh—lv—k was a rogue, he was not a fool, and by G—d, you are both. When he spoke this, he was a prisoner in the store-tent, and asked the captain, If he was to be kept there all night? On these provocations, the captain attempted to strike him again, but the centinel said, he should strike no prisoner of his. But Cozens endeavouring to stave a cask of brandy, was soon after released. This day got out of the ship several chests of wax candles of all sizes, bales of cloth, bales of stockings, shoes, with some clocks and mercantile wares, with which the ship was throng'd.

The 8th, Mr Cummins and myself went to the deserters; we find they were determined to go off to the northward; the reason of their stay is the want of craft to go off in. They now find themselves mistaken, they believed at first they were on the main, but are convinced they are four or five leagues from it, therefore they purpose to build a punt out of the wreck of the ship: They live on sea-weed and shell-fish, got up one cask of beef, which was brought on shore with a cask of brandy, found one cask of beef on the rocks.

On Tuesday the 9th, I went with the doctor's mate to the deserters, and spoke to William Oram, a carpenter, and a very useful man, desiring him to return, with a promise of pardon from the captain: In this affair I was obliged to act very secretly. To-day, Mr Cozens, the midshipman, had a dispute with the surgeon; the latter having some business in our tent, which, when he had done, on his going away, Mr Cozens followed him; they soon fell to blows, but the surgeon had so much the advantage of the midshipman, that he tied his hands behind him and left him. In the evening the captain sent for me and the carpenter to his tent: We found the captain, lieutenant, purser, surgeon, and lieutenant H——n of marines. Here we had a consultation, which was chiefly concerning the disturbances among the people, as well in our tent as in the rest. Mr Cummins and I assured the captain, that the people in our tent were generally very well affected to him, and that we never would engage in any mutiny against him, or any other

other officer that would act for the publick good, and his majesty's service: The captain said, he had no reason to suspect us, for we were the only two in the ship that he put any trust or confidence in. Strict orders were given the centinel to keep a good look-out, and have a watchful eye on the provisions. Notwithstanding all this precaution and care, there was one-third part of a barrel of flour and half a barrel of gunpowder taken away that night. It is to be observed, that this day's consultation was the first that Captain C—p ever had with his officers; had he sometimes consulted them aboard, we might probably have escaped our present unhappy condition.

Wednesday the 10th, this day, serving the provisions, the boatswain's servant, a Portuguese boy, talking bad English, and bringing in the allowance of wine, the boatswain, Mr Cozens, midshipman, and the cook his mess-mates, with some difficulty, understood by the boy's talk, that one of the men had his allowance stopped; Mr Cozens went to know the reason; the purser and he having some dispute two or three days before, the purser told him, when he asked for his wine, that he was come to mutiny, and without any farther ceremony, discharged a pistol at his head, and would have shot him, had he not been prevented by the cooper's canting the pistol with his elbow, at the instant of its going off; the captain and lieutenant H——n, hearing the discharge of a pistol, the latter ran out with a firelock, then called the captain out of his tent, telling him that Cozens was come to mutiny; the captain on this jumped out, asking where the villain was, clapped a cock'd pistol to Mr Cozen's cheek, and precipitately shot him, without asking any questions; the noise of the two pistols going off reached our tent; it was rainy weather, and not fit for gunning, so that we could not imagine the meaning of it; soon after we heard Mr Cozens was shot by the captain: The lieutenant came to call all hands to the captain: I asked if we must go armed, the lieutenant answered, Yes; but, on consideration, I thought better to go without arms: When we came to the captain, he acquainted us with what he had done, and told us he was still our commander. The captain, purser, surgeon, lieutenants H——n, E——rs, and F——ng of marines, being all armed, I said to the captain, Sir, you see we are disarmed; on this the captain dropped his firelock to the ground, saying, I see you are, and have only

only sent for you, to let you all know I am still your commander, so let every man go to his tent; accordingly every man obeyed him. In our tent, we had eighteen of the stoutest fellows that belonged to the ship, and I believe the captain, and the gentlemen above-mentioned, have some suspicion of Mr Cummins and myself, believing we can sway most of the seamen on shore: But I think this day we have given a proof of the sincerity of our intentions, and our detestation of mutiny, by not appearing in arms at the report of Mr Cozens being shot; we walked up with the captain, where we saw Mr Cozens with his elbow on the ground resting his right cheek on the palm of his hand, alive, and to appearance sensible, but speechless; the captain ordered him to the sick-tent, the surgeon's mate dressed his left cheek where he was shot, and felt a ball about three inches under his right eye; the surgeon refused dressing him: This we may impute to his having lately a quarrel with Mr Cozens, which has been already mentioned. The shooting of Mr Cozens was a very unhappy affair; The person whose allowance was stopped made no complaint to him, he was too officious in the business, and his preceding behaviour, and notorious disrespectful words to the captain, might probably make the captain suspect his design was mutiny; tho' this we must aver, that Mr Cozens neither on this, or any other occasion, appeared in arms since the loss of the ship. However, his fate laid the foundation of a great deal of mischief which afterwards followed.

Thursday the 11th, moderate gales at W.N.W. The carpenter employed in laying the blocks for the long-boat. Dr O——y, of the land forces, was desired to assist the surgeon's mate, to take the ball out of Mr Cozens's cheek, which he then was inclinable to do, but in the afternoon, finding it not agreeable to the captain, refused to go, as we are informed by the surgeon's mate, who desired some surgeon might be present, to be witness of the operation; the ball was taken out, and for some time supposed to be lost, but was afterwards found.

This day being the 12th, the carpenter finished the blocks for lengthening the long-boat: In the morning he went to the captain's tent for some bolts for the use of the long-boat, where he saw the surgeon at the medicine-chest, who asked him how that unfortunate creature did, meaning

Mr

Mr Cozens; the carpenter told him, he had not seen him to-day: The surgeon then said he would have visited him, but the captain would not give him leave. This was looked on as an act of inhumanity in the captain, and contributed very much to his losing the affections of the people, whose opinion was, that as Mr Cozens was very strong and healthy, with proper assistance he might recover; the people did not scruple to say, that the captain would act a more honourable part to discharge another pistol at him, and dispatch him at once, than to deny him relief, and suffer him to languish in a cold wet place in pain and misery.

On the 13th, Mr Cozens being, to all outward appearance, likely to recover, desired he might be removed to our tent, which was his place of residence before this unhappy accident. We being unwilling to disoblige the captain, the carpenter and myself waited on him; we told him, we were come to ask a favour, hoping that he would have so much mercy and compassion on the unhappy man who was in the sick tent, as to permit us to remove him to his former lodging, but the captain answer'd, No, I am so far from it, that if he lives, I will carry him a prisoner to the commodore, and hang him.

On the 14th, went aboard the ship, but could do nothing, she working so very much, we brought ashore the fore-top sail yard; the boat went up the river, brought back abundance of geese and shaggs. Wind at west.

Monday the 15th, hard gales of wind at west, with rain and hail; drove ashore three barrels of flour and abundance of small stuff out of the ship; took up a-long shore several pieces of pork and beef: John Anderson, a seaman, walking round the rocks, and reaching after a piece of beef, slipping his footing, was drown'd, but taken up directly, and that night bury'd: Turn'd the boatswain out of our tent for breeding quarrels; his turbulent temper was so well known to the captain, that he express'd himself pleas'd at our turning him out, and said he was surprized we ever admitted him among us.

On the 7th, the carpenter at work on the long-boat: The surgeon's mate, this day took out of Mr Cozens's cheek a ball much flatted, and a piece of bone, supposed to be part of the upper jaw, which was desired by Mr Cozens to be deliver'd to me; I receiv'd it, with the first ball mention'd to have been lost.

Thursday

Thursday the 18th, the carpenter cut the long-boat in two, and lengthen'd her eleven feet ten inches and half by the keel.

Sunday the 21st, went aboard the ship, but it being dangerous going about any thing, by reason of her working much, and a great sea tumbling in, the boats were employ'd in going about the rocks in search of subsistence.

The 22d, the carpenter went with the boat up the bay to seek the Indians, but saw nothing of them; at night the boat return'd, the people having shot abundance of wild-fowl.

The 23d, the lieutenant went with the boat, and found the Indians just come from the place where they catch seal; their canoes were loaded with seal, sheep, and oil.

Wednesday the 24th, departed this life, Mr Henry Cozens, midshipman, after languishing fourteen days with the wound he had received in his cheek: We bury'd him in as decent a manner as time, place, and circumstances would allow. There have died sundry ways since the ship first struck, forty-five men; seven have deserted from us, and still continue away; remain and now victual'd one hundred men.

Thursday the 25th, the wind at W.N.W. and rainy weather; saw the Indians coming towards us in their canoes, but the deserters settling where they took their habitation when first we saw 'em, by their rowing, we thought they were design'd to go there; and knowing the deserters intended to take one of their canoes to go over the main, we therefore launch'd the yawl and went off to them; there were five canoes of 'em, laden with seal, shell-fish, and four sheep; they brought with 'em their wives and children, so that in all they were about fifty in number; they hawl'd their canoes up, and built four wigg whims, which they cover'd with the bark of trees and seal-skins; we imagined by this they had an intention to settle with us; they are a very simple and inoffensive people, of a low stature, flat-nos'd, with their eyes sunk very deep in their heads; they live continually in smoak, and are never without a fire, even in their canoes; they have nothing to cover their nakedness, but a piece of an old blanket, which they throw over their shoulders: We always see 'em in this manner, notwithstanding we cloath 'em whenever they come to us. By the crosses set up in many parts of the land, one would think they

they had some notion of the Romish religion: We can't make 'em understand us by any speech, nor by our signs: We show'd 'em a looking-glass; when they saw the representation of themselves, they seem'd amaz'd, and shew'd a thousand antick gestures, and when once they beheld themselves in the looking-glass, they could hardly be prevail'd on to look off.

On Sunday the 28th, in the afternoon, about twelve of the Indian women went off in their canoes: We thought they were gone to get muscles, but soon saw 'em diving, which we imagin'd was for pieces of beef or pork that come out of the wreck; but, when they came ashore, we found they had been only diving for sea-eggs. The women among those people seem to take more pains for the provisions of life than the men; the latter having little to do but to provide wood, and indulge themselves by the fire, while the women go every tide a fishing. To-day we kill'd two Indian sheep.

Monday the 29th, launch'd the yawl to go with the Indians to shew us where they get the muscles; but being too late for the tide, we came away without any: The captain sent to our tent two quarters of mutton; the carpenter daily at work on the long-boat. Winds variable.

On the 30th, the Indian women went again for sea-eggs, and brought a great quantity, with abundance of white maggots, about three quarters of an inch in length, and in circumference the bigness of a wheat-straw. These women keep an incredible time under water, with a small basket in their hands, about the size of the women's work-baskets in England, into which they put whatever they get in their diving. Among these people the order of nature seems inverted; the males are exempted from hardships and labour, and the women are meer slaves and drudges. This day one of our seamen died: We observe, the Indians are very watchful of the dead, sitting continually near the abovemention'd corpse, and carefully covering him, every moment looking on the face of the deceas'd with abundance of gravity: At the burial their deportment was grave and solemn, seeing the people with their hats off during the service, they were very attentive and observant, and continued so till the burial was over: They have nothing, as I have said before, but a blanket to cover 'em, and the boys

and

and girls are quite naked, notwithstanding we felt it as cold here, as in the hardest frosts in England, and almost always rainy.

Wednesday, July the 1st, employ'd in cutting timbers in the woods for the long-boat; rainy weather, the wind at S.W. the Indian women diving for food as before.

Thursday the 2d, last night the store-tent was broke open, and robb'd of a great deal of flour.

Monday the 6th, hard gales of wind, with showers of rain and hail, came ashore from the ship one cask of beef, with several of the lower-deck carlings, and plank of the upper and lower-deck beams, and, what was reckon'd very odd, the cabin-bell came ashore, without its being fasten'd to any wood, or any one thing of the ship near it.

Tuesday the 7th, hard gales of wind, with hail, rain, and lightning: The Indian women went out as usual in their canoes to dive for sea-eggs, and brought ashore abundance of 'em; they jump overboard out of their canoe about a mile from shore, they take the handle of their baskets, which I have already described, between their teeth, diving five or six fathom water; their agility in diving, and their continuance under water for so long a time as they generally do, will be thought impossible by persons who have not been eye-witnesses of it; they seem as amphibious to us as seals and alligators, and rarely make use of any provisions but what they get out of the sea.

Wednesday the 8th, launch'd the yawl and went on board, saw several casks, some of meat, and some of liquor, the decks and sides abaft drove out, and entirely gone, the larboard-side abaft drove on shore; about two miles and a half from the tent a cask of liquor was found, and broach'd by the person who found it, which was allow'd to be a great fault; he likewise broach'd a cask of meat, which should have been preserv'd to carry away with us.

On Thursday the 9th, the Indians with their wives and children launch'd their canoes, and went away, 'tis believ'd they wanted provisions, such as seal, they are indeed never settled long in a place; it was said some of our people wanted to have to do with their wives, which was the reason of their going away so soon. To-day we saw several things drive out of the ship up the lagoon, as the stump of the main-mast, one of the pumps, with one of the gun-carriages. Wind at N.W.

Friday

Friday the 10th, went aboard the ship, found her broke asunder just at the gang-way, saw the cables out to the windward, but could not see any casks of liquor or provisions, went to shorter allowance of flour, one pound for three men per diem. Last night the tent was robbed of half a barrel of flour. Orders were given by the captain to watch the store-tent by night; all the officers, the marine included, with the mates and midshipmen, were oblig'd to watch, the captain and carpenter alone excus'd, the carpenter being every day at work on the long-boat.

Friday the 17th, for this week past hard gales of wind, with rain and hail as usual. Last Wednesday the ship parted her upper works from the lower deck: Launch'd the boat and went off to the wreck, but could do nothing, went up the bay, took a quarter cask, about three parts full of wine, saw the Indian dogs ashore, but no people.

Saturday the 18th, launched the boat, sent her to the wreck, and brought ashore one cask of beef, it is believed some guns were heard from the sea: The watch reported they have heard them two nights past. Great disturbances among the people. Wind at E.N.E. and frosty weather.

Sunday the 19th, launch'd the boat, sent her to the wreck, hook'd a cask supposed to be beef, but when towed ashore, we found it contained nothing but hatches; we took up along ashore, abundance of checque shirts in dozens, also caps, bales of cloth, and pieces of beef and pork.

Wednesday the 22d. This day began to build a house to dwell in, finding our stay here will be much longer than we at first expected.

The 23d, took up along shore several pieces of beef and pork, shirts, caps, frocks, trowsers, pieces of cloth, with other serviceable things, and wax candles of all sizes.

Saturday the 25th, hard showers of rain and hail, the wind at north. Shot several sea-gulls, geese, hawks, and other birds: The carpenter had this day given him by one of the people, a fine large rock crab, it being the first of the kind we ever saw here.

Sunday the 26th, moderate gales and variable winds, with rain and hail: Most part of our people eat a weed that grows on the rocks; it is a thin weed of a dark green colour, and called by the seamen, Slaugh. It is surprizing how the black currant trees, which are here in great plenty, have budded within these three days. Began thatching our

new

new house with bushes: To-day we caught a fine rock-fish; this is the first fish we have seen alive since our being here. Observing our new town, we find there are no less than 18 houses in it.

Monday the 27th, launched the boat, went to the wreck, but found nothing; close weather, the wind still at north: Rose the sheets for erecting a tent over the long-boat to keep the men from being exposed to the continual rains. This day we finished the thatching of our new house.

Wednesday the 29th, fresh gales at N.W. with rain; sure no men ever met with such weather as we have in this climate: To-day we walked in the woods to take some notice of the trees, which we find to be very much like our beech in England; but the trees and bushes are in general of a soft free nature, and with a spicy bark.

Thursday the 30th, wind still at N.W. and rainy weather. This day departed this life, Nathaniel Robinson, the last private man of the invalids; there are now only two left, viz. the captain and surgeon. Being at the honourable Mr B——n's tent, I found him looking in Sir John Narborough's voyage to these seas: This book I desired the loan of, he told me it was Captain C——p's, and did not doubt but he would lend it me; this favour I requested of the captain, and it was presently granted. Carefully perusing this book, I conceived an opinion that our going through the Streights of Magellan for the coast of Brasil, would be the only way to prevent our throwing ourselves into the hands of a cruel, barbarous, and insulting enemy: Our long-boat, when finished, can be fit for no enterprize, but the preservation of life: As we cannot act offensively, we ought to have regard to our safety and liberty. This evening proposals were offered to the officers concerning our going through the Streights of Magellan; which at this time they seem to approve of.

Friday the 31st, hard gales at N.W. with rain: This day was taken up along shore, an otter just killed, but by what animal we could not tell; it was bleeding fresh when taken up, and proved a dainty repast. Came ashore the ship's beams, with several things of great value.

Saturday, August the 1st, hard gales at N.W. with rain and hail. This day put to an allowance of flour, one quarter of a pound a man per diem, and one pint of wine: Those who like brandy, to have half a pint in lieu of wine.

We

We have now in a manner nothing to live on but what we pick'd up along the shore: The ship's company agree to go through the Streights of Magellan.

Sunday the 2d, this morning found the store-tent robbed of brandy, filled up all the ullage casks, picked up about the rocks abundance of clams, a shell-fish not unlike our cockles: These fish are at present the support of our life. The people are now very quarrelsome and discontented.

Monday the 3d, this day having fine weather (which is a prodigy in this place) launched the boat, and went about the rocks and islands on discovery. This day we also moved into our new house, it being a very commodious habitation, exceedingly well thatched; in this dwelling there are cabins for fourteen people, which are covered inside and out with broad cloth: This is a rich house, and, in some parts of the world, would purchase a pretty estate; there are several hundred yards of cloth about it, besides the curtains and linings, which are shalloon and camblet; in short, considering where we are, we cannot desire a better habitation. The people fall into disputes concerning the boat, where we are to proceed with her, when she is built and ready for going off. It is the opinion of the navigators, that going through the Streights of Magellan is the safest and only way to preserve life and liberty: The artists, who have worked the bearings and distance, are very pressing that it should be moved to the captain, purposing to have their reasons drawn up, and signed by all who are willing to go that way, and to be delivered to the captain for his opinion; upon this there was a paper drawn up, and as soon as the people heard it, they came flocking to sign first, crying all aloud for the Streights, seeming overjoyed, as if they were going to England directly, without any affliction or trouble, but there must be a great deal of hardships to be encountered before we arrive at our native country: This paper was signed by all the officers on the spot, except the captain, lieutenant, purser, and surgeon, and by all the seamen in general, except the captain's steward.

Tuesday the 4th, at the time of serving at the storehouse, about twelve o'clock, I went to the captain, with the master, carpenter, and boatswain, and read to him the paper;

per; he answered he would consider of it, and give his answer: Here follows a copy of the paper signed:—

"We whose names are under-mentioned, do, upon mature consideration, as we have met with so happy a deliverance, think it the best, surest, and most safe way for the preservation of the body of people on the spot, to proceed through the Streights of Magellan for England. Dated at a desolate island on the coast of Patagonia, in the latitude of 47 deg. 00 min. south, and west longitude from the meridian of London 81 deg. 40 min. in the South Seas, this 2d day of August, 1741.

John Bulkeley, gunner.
John Cummins, carpenter.
Thomas Clark, master.
John King, boatswain.
John Jones, master's mate.
John Snow, ditto.
Robt. Elliot, surgeon's mate.
The Hon. John Byron, midshipman.
Alexander Campbell, ditto.
Isaac Morris, ditto.
Thomas Maclean, cook.
John Mooring, boatswain's mate.

Henry Stevens,
Benjamin Smith,
John Montgomery,
John Duck,
John Hayes,
James Butler,
John Hart,
James Roach,
Job Barns,
John Petman,
William Callicutt,
} seamen.

Richard Phipps, boatswain's mate.
John Young, cooper.
Richard Noble, quarter-master.
William Rose, ditto.
William Hervey, quarter-gunner.
John Bosman, seaman.
William Moore, ditto.
Samuel Stook, ditto.
Samuel Cooper, ditto.
David Buckley, quarter-gunner.

George Smith,
Peter Deleroy,
James M'Cawle,
John George,
John Shorclan,
Richard East,
William Lane,
William Oram,
Moses Lewis,
Nicholas Griselham,
} seamen.

"We whose names are under-mentioned, have had sufficient

cient reasons, from the above-mentioned people, to consent to go this way. Signed by

Captain Robert Pemberton, commander of his majesty's land forces.
William Fielding, } lieutenants."
Robert Ewers, }

Wednesday the 5th, this day I went with the master, carpenter, master's mates, and midshipmen, to the captain, to acquaint him with what was done, and resolved on, and farther told him, it was a duty incumbent on us to preserve life before any other interest. He answered, Gentlemen, I desire time to consider of it, and will give you my final determination; on which we took our leave, and came away.

Thursday the 6th, hard gales at W. S. W. and rainy weather. At noon we went with Mr Cummins to Captain P—mb—rt—n's tent, to have some farther conference for our future deliverance: While we were there, the captain sent his service to Captain C——p for a pair of pocket-pistols, his own property, which had been refused him on his request some time before. The servant was answered, by the captain's favourite and prime minister the steward, The captain is ill, and I can't let you have 'em. This answer not being satisfactory to Captain P—mb—rt—n, he sent a second time, and insisted on the delivery of his pistols, but was answered, they could not be come at before the captain was up; but a little time after it was judged proper to send Captain P—mb—rt—n his pistols. From Captain P—mb—rt—n's we went to the L—t's tent; while there, the L—t was sent to Captain C——p, about an hour after the carpenter and myself were sent for; when we came to him, he said, Gentlemen, I have maturely considered the contents of your paper, so far as it regards the preservation of the people on the spot: This paper has given me a great deal of uneasiness, insomuch that I have not closed my eyes till eight o'clock this morning, for thinking of it, but, I think, you have not weighed the thing rightly; do you know we are above one hundred and sixty leagues distant S.W. from the Streights of Magellan, with the wind against us? Then think on the distance to be run afterwards on the other side the Streights, with the wind always against us, and where no water is to be had. I answered, Sir, you say it is above one hundred and sixty leagues

leagues to the Streights, but let the navigators work it, and they will find it not above ninety leagues; yourself and lieutenant are undoubtedly navigators and judges, therefore will certainly find it as I say. Mr Cummins acquainted him, accordingly to his calculation, the vessel would carry a month's water, at a quart a man per diem; and, sir, do you consider, after running along shore to the northward this side the land, that we have one hundred leagues to run right out to sea to the island of Juan Ferdinandez, and five hundred chances to one if we meet the commodore there, or any of the squadron, nor do we know but the commodore may have shared the same fate with ourselves, or perhaps worse? The captain answered, It's a thousand to one if we see the commodore at Juan Ferdinandez; for, gentlemen, to let you into a secret, which I never discovered before, we shall meet him at Baldavia, his orders were from ——— to go there with the squadron, it being a place of little or no force. Mr Cummins answered, Sir, 'tis agreed, the commodore is at Baldavia, but we make it in our bargain, when we go from hence, that we will put ashore at every place when we want water, whenever the weather will permit, without any obstruction. The captain replied, There is no occasion for that, we will water at the islands, and take a vessel going along. Mr Cummins said, Sir, what shall we do with a vessel, without provisions, for ninety souls? The captain answered, We will take a vessel loaden with flour from Chili, there being a great many trading vessels that way, and then we will proceed through the Streights of Magellan. Mr Cummins said, How shall we take a vessel without guns, not having any but muskets, and our enemies know, as well as ourselves, that we have a squadron in these seas, therefore, undoubtedly are well armed, and keep a good look-out? The captain's answer to this was, What are our small arms for, but to board 'em? The carpenter said, Sir, if a shot should take the boat under water, it would not be in my power to stop a leak of that kind, where the plank is so thin, that in some places it is not above three quarters of an inch thick. The captain then said, Gentlemen, I am agreeable to any thing, and willing to go any way, for the preservation of the people; but at the same time would have you consider of it, the wind being always against us on the other side the land, and we have above seven hundred leagues to the river Plate. I answered

answered the captain, 'Tis not above five hundred and ninety leagues from hence to Cape St Antonio's; and, as I have before said, let the navigators work it, and reason take place, which is what we chiefly desire to be governed by: Another inducement we have to go the way proposed is, that we may be assured of water and provision. I allow that, says the captain, and we may save our own; but how do you know whether we may not meet enemies in the Streights? I replied to the captain, We can have no enemies to encounter there, but Indians in their canoes, and those we can master at our pleasure. The captain then seemed to countenance our opinion again, and said, When we come to St Julian's we shall be sure of salt in plenty for our provisions, without which our fowls will not keep above two or three days: Besides, when we come to the river Plate, we may meet with a prize, they not being acquainted with any English vessel like ours, with schooner's sails, by which means we may run up the river and take a larger vessel: If we fail here, we may go ashore, and get what cattle we please, but what business have we at the Rio Grand? We must go to the Rio Janeiro. I told him, we should be obliged to stop at every place along shore for supplies; at St Catharine's the governor will give us a certificate, so that we shall be known to be the people that were there in the squadron. The captain said, That's true, and I can get bills of credit in any part of Brazil; besides, the people may be separated, some in the Flota, and some in other ships, with less hands we may go to Barbadoes. Mr Cummins told him, we might venture to England with twelve hands. Yes, you may, says the captain, with thirty. It is to be observed, during all this debate, the lieutenant spoke not a word. The carpenter asking him the reason of his silence in all the consultation, he answered, I'll give my opinion hereafter. The captain said, I knew nothing of his being acquainted with it, till Mr Bulkeley told me yesterday; but at the same time, Mr B——s, I expect, you will be the first that will sign the paper. I imagined the captain meant our paper, and immediately answered, with some warmth, As he had refused signing at first, and at the same time agreed to the proposal, that I had signed so close, that there was no room left for his name, and now it was too late for him to sign. The captain surprized me, by saying, I don't mean your paper; I told him, Any other,

 which

which should be contrary to ours, would never be signed by us. Mr Cummins said to the captain, Sir, 'tis allowing to you that we are here; if you had consulted your officers, we might have avoided this misfortune, considering the condition the ship was in, she was not fit to come in with the land, all our men being sick, and not above three seamen in a watch; suppose the mast had gone by the board, as was every moment expected. The captain made answer, Gentlemen, you do not know my orders; there never were any so strict given to a commander before, and had I but two men living besides myself, I must, and was obliged to go to the first rendezvous, which was the island of Nostra Senhora di Socora: I was obliged to go there at all events. I made answer to this, Sir, if that is the case, it seems plain the thing was designed we should be here: But, sir, I am of opinion, notwithstanding the commodore had his orders from —— to go with the squadron to Baldavia, that at the same time those orders were so far discretional, that if the squadron was disabled, care was to be taken not to endanger his majesty's ships. Yes, that (says the captain) was settled at St Julian's: Notwithstanding what has been said, gentlemen, I am agreeable to take any chance with you, and to go any way; but would have you consider of it, and defer your determination till all is ready to go off the spot. I then told the captain, You have known, sir, from the time you saw the proposal, that the people are uneasy, and the work is at a stand, and in this situation things will be until this affair is settled; therefore the sooner you resolve the better. The captain replied, I design to have a consultation among my officers: Have you any more objections to make? I answered, Yes, sir, one more; which is, when you go from hence, you are not to weigh, come to an anchor, or alter course, without consulting your officers. The captain said, Gentlemen, I was your commander till the ship parted, or as long as any stores or provisions were getting out of her. We told him, we had always taken care to obey his orders in the strictest manner, which he allowed us to have done; and he added, You were the officers that I placed my whole dependence in. We answered, Sir, we will support you with our lives, as long as you suffer reason to rule: And then we parted. After this consultation the captain seldom came out of his tent, which occasioned great disturbances among the people.

Friday

Friday the 7th, the wind at W.N.W. with rain. This day the navigators worked the bearings and distance along shore, from one place to another, to know the true distance: Hereupon it was agreed to proceed through the Streights of Magellan, according to Sir John Narborough's directions, which give us great encouragement to go that way. Captain P———n drawed his men up, and dismissed 'em again. Great uneasiness among the people.

Saturday the 8th, this morning went to the lieutenant, for him to acquaint the captain all his officers were ready to give sufficient reasons for going through the Streights of Magellan, desiring a consultation might be held in the afternoon. At three o'clock the captain sent for me and Mr Cummins; when we came, the master and boatswain were sent for, but they were gone in search of subsistence, as limpetts, muscles, &c. The captain said, Gentlemen, I don't doubt but you have considered upon the business you are come about; therefore I am determined to take my fate with you, or where the spirit of the people leads, and shall use my best endeavours for their preservation; but I am afraid of meeting contrary winds, for after the sun has crossed the Line we must expect to meet 'em. I made answer, By all accounts the wind hangs from N.W. to the S.W. above three parts of the year, which is in our favour. Mr Cummins told him, There was fresh water to be got as well on one coast as the other, and if Sir John Narborough's treatment was so ill in a profound peace, what must we expect in a time of open war? The captain said, I am afraid, very bad. Then Mr Cummins spoke in this manner to the captain: Sir, I always took you for an honourable gentleman, and I believe you to be such; on your honour, sir, I beg you will give the true sentiments of your mind, whether through the Streights is not the surest and safest way to preserve our lives, notwithstanding we have a thousand difficulties to encounter with any way? The captain answered, I really think going to the northward is the safest way; for suppose we should be drove off to sea, when on the other side the land, what is to be done then? I said, Sir, it is our business to keep the shore, to prevent all accidents that may happen that way. Then Lieutenant B——s made an objection, Suppose you have the wind blowing right in, and a tumbling sea, as to endanger the boat, what are we to do? I made answer, Sir, if you remember when

we were riding at St Julian's, it blowed a very hard gale of wind right in from the sea; yet, even then, the sea did not run so high as to endanger a boat riding at anchor: Another instance I bring you from St Catherine's, when we had such hard gales that the Trial lost her masts, and the Pearl separated from the squadron; yet, at that time, there was no sea comparable to what we have met with this side the land. The lieutenant allowed this to be fact. Then the captain said, I will allow you to have water at Port Desire; but do you consider the lengthening your distance, by keeping along shore, and rounding every bay, and some of those bays are very deep? I told him, that undoubtedly there was water all along the coast, and that we had no business to round the bays, but to steer from one head-land to the other. Then Lieutenant B——s made a second objection, Suppose we are forced into a bay, and shoal water? I answered, We should always have a boat a-head, and our draught of water will not be above four or five feet at most; and if we should be so unfortunate as to lose our boat, we must keep the lead a-going. The l———t replied, That was true, and there could not be a great deal of difficulty in it. This was the only time the l———t ever spoke in public on the affair; he always allowed, when absent from the captain, that going through the Streights was the best way; but in the captain's presence he sided with him, and was for going to the northward.

Sunday the 9th, at three this afternoon, I went with Mr Cummins, the master, and boatswain, as desired, to the captain, to give him our opinions, believing going through the Streights the surest way to preserve life; it was therefore agreed, That if the wind did not set in against us, at the sun's crossing the Line, that the captain would go that way. The captain asked every man's opinion, and found the people unanimous for the Streights of Magellan. To-day being fair weather, launched the yawl to go a fowling, shot several geese, ducks, shaggs, and sea-pies. Heeled the long-boat for planking.

Monday the 10th, wind at N. and N.N.W. rainy weather. Eat slaugh and sea-weed fryed with tallow-candles, which we picked up along shore; this we reckon at present exceeding good eating, having nothing to live on but a quarter of a pound of flour a man per day, and what we can get off the rocks: For many days the weather has been so

so bad that we have not been able to stir abroad, though almost starved for want of food.

Tuesday the 11th, hard gales at S.W. with heavy rains. This afternoon the people came in arms to acquaint us of the stores being robbed; they therefore wanted our consent for moving the stores to our tent; on which we desired they would desist from offering any violence: We told 'em of the ill consequence of mutiny, which, as we always abhorred, we took all imaginable care to prevent: The people, on our persuasions, instantly quitted their arms. The captain presently sent for me and Mr Cummins, to acquaint us with what had happened: He told us the purser, accidentally coming by, saw the prisoner Rowland Crussett, marine, crawling from the bushes, and from under the store tent, and found on him upwards of a day's flour for ninety souls, with one piece of beef under his coat, and three pieces more, which were concealed in the bushes, to carry off when an opportunity offered; and the sentry, Thomas Smith, his mess-mate, a marine, undoubtedly was privy to the robbery. The captain farther said, We have nothing to do with them; but I shall send to Captain P——n, to insist on a court-martial: I really think that for robbing the store-tent (which, in our present circumstances, is starving the whole body of people) the prisoners deserve death. This was not only the captain's opinion, but indeed the sentiments of every person present. After we parted from the captain, we were sent for by Captain P——n: He acquainted us, he would go as far as the martial law would allow him, and in conjunction with the sea-officers: I look (said he) on the l————t as nothing, and the c———n in the same light: As for you two, (meaning the gunner and carpenter) I confide in, and shall have regard to your opinions. When the articles of war were read, we found their crime did not touch life, but they were to suffer corporal punishment. Whilst Mr Cummins was laying open the nature of their guilt, and the ill consequence of lenity in the circumstances we were in, I proposed a way next to death, which was, if judged proper by Captain P———n and Captain C——p, to carry 'em off to an island where the ship parted, there being muscles, limpetts, and clams in abundance, and no want of water, and there to be left till we should be ready for sailing; and, to strike a terror in all for the future, that if any man should be guilty of the like

tike offence, without any respect of person, he should share the same fate. This proposal was approved of by both the captains. At night Lieutenant B——n surprised us with a new kind of proposal we little dreamt of, which was, to have a proper place of devotion to perform divine service in every sabbath-day: For this sacred office, our tent was judged the most commodious place. The duty of public prayer had been entirely neglected on board, though every seaman pays fourpence per month towards the support of a minister; yet devotion, in so solemn a manner, is so rarely performed, that I know but one instance of it during the many years I have belonged to the navy. We believe religion to have the least share in this proposal of the lieutenant. If our tent should be turned into a house of prayer, and this project takes, we may, perhaps, in the midst of our devotion, be surprised, and our arms taken from us, in order to frustrate our designs, and prevent our return to England through the Streights of Magellan, or any other way.

Wednesday the 12th, hard gales from S.W. to W. with heavy showers of hail and rain. Served out provisions to-day, a piece of beef for four men; some time past we have had but a quarter of a pound of flour per man per diem, and three pieces of beef: We live chiefly on muscles, limpitts, and clams, with saragraza and thromba; one is a green broad weed, common on the rocks in England; the other is a round sea-weed, so large, that a man can scarce grasp it; it grows in the sea, with broad leaves; this last we boil, the saragraza we fry in tallow; in this manner we support life: Even these shell-fish and weeds we get with great difficulty; for the wind, the rain, and coldness of the climate in this season, are so extremely severe, that a man will pause some time whether he shall stay in his tent and starve, or go out in quest of food.

Friday the 14th, very hard gales at W. and N.W., with showers of rain and hail, which beat with such violence against a man's face, that he can hardly withstand it; however, one of our mess-mates to-day shot three gulls and a hawk, which gave us a very elegant repast. This day was held a court-martial on the sentry who is believed confederate with the marine that robbed the store-tent: sentence was passed on them to receive six hundred lashes each: Captain C——p not thinking the punishment adequate to the

the crime, cut 'em short of their allowance, so that they have now but half the provisions they had before: The day following the offenders received two hundred lashes each, as part of their punishment. We hauled the long-boat higher up, for fear the sea should wash the blocks from under her. We have found a new way of managing the slaugh; we fry it in thin batter with tallow, and use it as bread.

Sunday the 16th, fresh gales of wind at S.W. with heavy showers of hail: The people generally complain of a malady in their eyes; they are in great pain, and can scarce see to walk about. The last tide flowed nine feet perpendicular; to-day we picked up shell-fish in abundance, with pieces of beef and pork. The prisoners received two hundred lashes more.

Tuesday the 18th, this day the carpenter, who has all along been indefatigable in working about the long-boat, saw one of the seamen cutting up an anchor-stock for fire-wood, which had been designed for a particular use for the long-boat; at sight of the fellow's folly he could not contain himself: This affair, added to the little concern and intolerable indifference that appeared in the generality of the people, for some time impaired his understanding, and made him delirious; all possible methods are used to restore him, as he is the only man, who, through the assistance of Providence, can compleat the means of our deliverance.

Wednesday the 19th, the carpenter was so much recovered, that he went to work as usual; at night the lieutenant acquainted us, that the captain desired to speak with the carpenter and me to-morrow at noon, to consult what should be done with the two prisoners, having received but four hundred lashes out of the six, to which they were sentenced by a court-martial, the other two hundred being remitted by their own officers.

Thursday the 20th, we waited on the captain, who acquainted us with what the lieutenant had mentioned last night relating to the prisoners: We told him the people were very uneasy about this mitigation of the punishment inflicted on them by a court-martial; therefore it was agreed they should provide for themselves as well as they could, but to have no sort of provisions out of the store-tent for the future.

Saturday

Saturday the 22d, we begun upon several contrivances to get provisions, such as building punts, cask-boats, leather-boats, and the like.

On Sunday the 23d, the store-tent was again robbed, and, on examination, was found a deficiency of twelve days brandy for ninety men: The lieutenant, myself, and carpenter, went to the captain to consult some way which might effectually prevent those villainous practices for the future: The captain desired us to make a nice inquiry into this robbery, being determined to inflict the severest punishment on the offenders; though it would give him the greatest concern if any innocent person should suffer. This day we confined one of the sentinels for being drunk on his post; the day following the boatswain gave us information of the persons who had robbed the tent; they were two sentinels, Smith and Butler; those very persons were the first who insisted that the seamen, as well as themselves, should watch the store-tent; their own officers, as yet, have brought them to no examination: We have also information that the purser holds frequent conversation with the rebels, contrary to all the laws of the navy, supplying them with liquors in abundance, to the great distress of his majesty's faithful subjects, who have but half a pint per day to subsist on. There are now great disturbances among the people concerning going to the northward; they believe Captain C——p never intended to return to England by his proposing this way, in opposition to the opinion of all the navigators, who have given reasons for going through the Streights of Magellan. There is a sort of a party rage among the people, fomented by a kind of bribery that has more influence on the seamen than money; there are some daily bought off by rum, and other strong liquors. Unless a stop is put to these proceedings, we shall never go off the spot.

Tuesday the 25th, this day felt four great earthquakes, three of which were very terrible; notwithstanding the violent shocks and tremblings of the earth, we find no ground shifted. Hard gales of wind at north, with heavy showers of rain.

Thursday the 27th, the disturbances increase among the people; we plainly see there is a party raised to go to the northward; we went to the lieutenant, and consulted with him what was to be done in the present exigence; myself being

being reckoned the projector of the scheme for going through the Streights, was threatened to be shot by Noble the quarter-master: After having some discourse with the lieutenant, he told me, If I would draw up a paper for the captain to sign, in order to satisfy the people, that he would go to the southward, and every officer to have a copy of it, to justify himself in England, it would be as proper a method as we could take. The paper was immediately drawn up in these words, viz.

"WHEREAS upon a general consultation, it has been agreed to go from this place through the Streights of Magellan, for the coast of Brazil, in our way for England: We do, notwithstanding, find the people separating into parties, which must consequently end in the destruction of the whole body; and as also there have been great robberies committed on the stores, and every thing is now at a stand, therefore, to prevent all future frauds and animosities, we are unanimously agreed to proceed as above-mentioned."

This paper was delivered to the lieutenant, who said that he was sure the captain would sign it, but in case of refusal he should be confined for shooting Mr Cozens, and he would take the command on himself: And, to prevent further disturbances, the purser, as he much conversed with the rebels, it is agreed by the body of officers to send him off the island, for acting so contrary to his duty, in contempt of the articles of war, the laws of his country, and the known rules of the navy. It was likewise agreed, that any person who engaged himself in raising parties, should be disarmed. By this day's proceedings, we thought the lieutenant a gentleman of resolution, but the words and actions of people do not always concur.

Friday the 28th, to-day the officers and people all appeared in arms. The master, boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, with Mr J——s, mate, and Mr C——ll, midshipman, went into the captain's tent, the lieutenant being with him. As soon as the officers were seated, a consultation was held concerning Smith and Butler robbing the store-tent, they were sentenced to be transported to the main, or some island. As soon as this affair was over, we talk'd to the captain of the uneasiness among the people, that there had been a long time a visible inquietude among 'em, and that

that we could not help seeing there were schemes form'd to obstruct our design of going to the southward. The captain answer'd, Gentlemen, it is time enough to think of this when we are ready to go off; have not I told you before that I do not care which way I go, southward or northward? I will take my fate with you. Every body now expected the lieutenant to reply, especially after the zeal he express'd himself with the day before; but he sat speechless, without any regard to the welfare of the people, or to his own proposals. Finding he did not move in the affair, I took out the paper which was agreed to by the lieutenant and the rest of the officers, and read it to the captain, and ask'd him to sign it, which he strenuously oppos'd, and seem'd very much enrag'd that it should be propos'd to him. Upon this we dropt the matter, and began to discourse concerning the provisions: We thought it necessary that ten weeks subsistence should be secur'd to carry with us, and that the liquor should be buried under ground, but he gave us no answer. Finding no relief here, we went to Captain P——n's tent to consult with him what we should do in the present exigence. On our coming out from the captain we saw a flag hoisted on Captain P——n's tent, the captain himself seated in a chair, surrounded by the people. On seeing this, all the officers present at the consultation, except the lieutenant, went over to Captain P——n. Here it was agreed, in case the captain persisted to refuse signing the paper, to take the command from him, and to give it the lieutenant, according to the lieutenant's own proposal. At the same time Captain P——n told the people he would stand by 'em with his life, in going through the Streights of Magellan, the way propos'd in the paper. The people gave three cheers, crying aloud for England. The captain hearing the noise, got out of bed to his tent door, and call'd the people, enquiring what they wanted, then sent for all the officers: He was then told, since he refused signing the paper, and had no regard to the safety of our provisions, the people unanimously agreed to take the command from him, and transfer it to the lieutenant. Hearing this, with an exaltedvoice, Captain C——p says, Who is he that will take the command from me? addressing himself to the lieutenant, Is it you, sir? The lieutenant reply'd, No, sir. The terror of the captain's aspect intimidated the lieutenant to that degree, that he look'd like a ghost. We left him

with

with the captain, and return'd to Captain P——n's tent, to acquaint him of the lieutenant's refusing the command. We had not been long here before Captain C——p sent for us. I was the first person call'd for; at my entering his tent, I saw him seated on a chest, with a cock'd pistol on his right thigh; observing this, I desir'd Mr J——s, who was the mate he always rely'd on for navigation, to tell the captain I did not think proper to come before a cock'd pistol: Notwithstanding I was arm'd I drew back, altho' I had my pistol cock'd, and there were several men near me arm'd with muskets. The captain's personal bravery no man doubted of, his courage was excessive, and made him rash and desperate; his shooting Mr Cozens was a fatal proof of it, he was grown more desperate by this unhappy action, and was observ'd since seldom to behave himself with any composure of mind. It is a piece of human prudence to retreat from a man in a phrenzy, becaause he who does not value his own life, has another man's in his power. I had no desire of falling by the hand of Captain C——p, and should be greatly disturb'd to be compell'd, for my own preservation, to discharge a pistol at a gentleman against whom I never had any spleen, and who was my commander. When Mr J——s acquainted him with what I desired him, the captain threw his pistol aside, and came out of his tent; he told the people he would go with them to the southward; he desired to know their grievances, and he would redress them: They all call'd out for their sea-store of provisions to be secur'd, and the rest equally divided. Here the captain shew'd all the conduct and courage imaginable; he was a single man against a multitude, all of 'em dissatisfy'd with him, and all of 'em in arms: He told 'em the ill consequence of sharing the provisions, that it was living to-day and starving to-morrow; but the people were not to be satisfy'd, the officers had now no authority over 'em, and they were some time deaf to their persuasions; nay, it was with difficulty that they could dissuade 'em from pulling down the store-tent, and taking away the provisions by force; they remov'd the provisions out of the store-tent, then fell to digging a hole to bury the brandy; the sea-store to be secur'd, the remainder to be immediately shar'd. Had this been comply'd with, the consequences might have been very terrible; however, to pacify 'em in some shape, it was agreed, that every man should have a pint of brandy per day,

day, which, by calculation, would last 'em three weeks. On this they seem'd very easy, and went to their respective tents. The captain told his officers that he would act nothing contrary to what was agreed on for the welfare and safety of the community. Finding the captain in a temper of mind to hearken to reason, I said to him, sir, I think it my duty to inform you that I am not the person whom you imagine to be the principal in this affair. The captain answer'd, how can I think otherwise? I reply'd, Sir, the paper I read to you was your lieutenant's projection: There sits the gentleman, let him disown it if he can. The captain turning himself to the lieutenant, says, Mr Bulkeley has honestly clear'd himself. We then drank a glass of wine, and took our leaves. At night the captain sent for Mr Cummins and me to sup with him; we were the only officers present with him: When I was seated, I said, Sir, I have my character at stake, from drawing back from your cock'd pistol; had I advanc'd, one of us must have dropt. The captain answer'd, Bulkeley, I do assure you the pistol was not design'd for you, but for another; for I knew the whole before. We then talk'd of indifferent things, and spent the evening in a very affable manner.

Saturday the 29th, came here five Indian canoes, loaden with muscles; the men, women, and children, were about fifty: These Indians had never been with us before, they are not so generous and good-natur'd as our friends I have already mentioned; they were so mercenary, that they would not part with a single muscle without something in exchange; their stay was but short with us, for the next morning they launch'd their canoes, and went off.

Tuesday, September the 1st, the carpenter was shot in the thigh with several large pewter slugs by the captain's cook, but he being at a great distance, the slugs did not enter his skin: Whether this was design'd, or accidental, we don't know; however, we thought it proper to disarm him.

Wednesday the 2d, wind at N. and N. by W. with rain. This day we were inform'd that three of the deserters, viz. James Mitchel, carpenter's mate, Joseph King and Owen Thomson, seamen, were gone over to the main in a punt of their own building; the others were here yesterday, and I believe would be gladly received again, but am of opinion there are few voices in their favour.

Friday

Friday the 4th, some disorders among the people about watching the provisions, some taking all opportunities to rob the stores. Our living now is very hard, shell-fish are very scarce, and difficult to be had; the sea-weeds are our greatest support; we have found a sort of sea-weed which we call dulse, it is a narrow weed, growing on rocks in the sea, which, when boil'd about two hours, thickens the water like flour; this we esteem a good and wholsome food.

Sunday the 6th, last night the store-tent was robbed of brandy and flour: The people on hearing this were greatly enrag'd, and insisted on searching the marines tents; on search they found four bottles of brandy, and four small parcels of flour. The captain sent for the lieutenant, master gunner, carpenter, and surgeon, with lieutenants H——n, E——s, and F——g, of the army, Captain Pemberton was also sent for, but was so ill that he could not be present, but desir'd all might pass according to the judgment of the above-mention'd officers. A consultation was held, five of the accused marines did not appear, dreading the punishment due to their crime, they march'd off to the deserters: Four more, who staid to be try'd, receiv'd sentence, on the first opportunity, to carry them off to the main, and there to shift for themselves with the former deserters. The seamen insisted on a pint of brandy each man per diem, which was agreed on. The provisions being found were put into the store.

Monday the 7th, I was invited to a dog-feast at Mr J———s's tent: There were present at this entertainment, the lieutenant, the Honourable John Byron, Mr Cummins, Mr Campbell, Mr Young, Lieutenants Ewers and Fielding, and Dr Oakley of the army. It was exceeding good eating, we thought no English mutton preferable to it.

Tuesday the 8th, in the afternoon, William Harvey, quarter gunner, came to our tent with a paper sign'd by seven people; the contents as follows, viz.

"These are to acquaint you, the gentlemen, officers, and seamen of the ship Wager, that, for the easement of the boat now building, we do agree to go in the yawl, after she is fitted up, with allowing us our share of provisions, and other conveniences, to go in her to the southward, through the Streights of Magellan, for the coast of Brazil.

David

David Buckley, quarter gunner.
William Harvey, ditto.
Rich. Noble, quarter-master.
William Moor, captain's cook.
William Rose, quarter-master.
John Hayes, seaman.
John Bosman, ditto."

The next day, the above-mention'd added one more to their number, viz. Peter Plastow, captain's steward: he came to acquaint us he was willing to go with them, and hoped we would give our consent; we told him we had nothing to do with it, therefore he must apply to the captain.

Thursday the 10th, hard gales at W.N.W., with rain and hail. The captain sent for the lieutenant, master, myself, the carpenter, and boatswain; when we were all met, the captain ask'd us if Plastow had mention'd any thing to us about going off in the yawl. We told him he had. Plastow being sent for, the captain said, Peter, I hear you are for going in the boat? He answer'd, Yes, sir, I will take my chance, for I want to get to England. The captain bade him be gone for a villain, and said no more. This Plastow was a mighty favourite with the captain, and had often been admitted to his conversation: He above all men ought to have stood steadfast to him, because the captain regarded him above the whole body of people, and hath been heard to say as much. It was this day agreed that the sentence put off on the 8th should be executed the first opportunity, without any delay, and that no boat should go off from hence before all was ready, believing some have a design to go to the northward.

Friday the 11th, wind at N.N.W. The people very uneasy, scarce any work done for this week past; every thing at a stand, we have now among us no command, order, or discipline, add to our uneasiness the uncomfortableness of the climate; we have been inhabitants of this island sixteen weeks, and have not seen ten fair days; the murmurings of the people, the scarcity of provision, and the severity of the weather, would really make a man weary of life.

Monday the 14th, last night very hard gales at N.W. and W.N.W., with large showers of hail, with thunder. The wind to-day is much abated. As to the article of provisions, nothing comes amiss, we eat dogs, rats, and, in short, every thing we can come at.

Friday

Friday the 18th, Dennis O'Lary, and John Redwood, seamen, with six marines, were put off to the main, according to their sentence, it being a fine summer's day. This day the lieutenant bringing a pair of pistols to the carpenter, and complaining they were in bad order, did not imagine they were loaded, snapping the first it miss'd fire, the second went off, but providentially did no harm, tho' the lieutenant had then a crowd of people about him.

Sunday the 20th, little wind, and clear weather. Launch'd the barge, and went off to the wreck; we took up four casks of beef, with a cask of pease, which was stav'd, we serv'd out to each man five pieces of beef, and pease to such as would have 'em, but there were none to take 'em, having now plenty of meat, our stomachs are become nice and dainty.

Wednesday, the 23d, the people went to the captain with a two gallon cagg, and ask'd it full of wine. The captain refus'd 'em, but apprehending that they would make no ceremony of filling it without leave, and carrying it off by force, he thought proper to order it to be fill'd. They brought it to the long-boat, and drank it in her hold. Stept the long-boat's mast forward. The people very much disorder'd in liquor, and very quarrelsome.

Thursday the 24th, I was sent on a week's cruize in the barge, the officers with me were Mr Jones, the mate, and the Honourable Mr B——n, midshipman, and Mr Harvey the purser, who was a good draughtsman; we went in order to discover the coast to the southward, for the safety of the long-boat; we were informed on our return, that the people in our absence went to the captain and got two gallons of wine which they mixed with their half pints of brandy, they got all drunk and mad, but no great mischief ensued. Six Indian canoes likewise came in our absence loaden with men, women, and children, and brought with them clams out of the shells strung on lines. The Indian women dived for muscles, and brought them ashore in abundance, the men went to the fresh water river, and caught several fish like our English mullets. The people bought dogs of the Indians, which they kill'd and eat, esteeming the flesh very good food. The next day the Indians went out and caught a vast quantity of fish out of a pond, where they sent their dogs to hunt; the dogs dived, and drove the fish ashore in great numbers, to one part of the pond, as if they had been

drawn

drawn in a seyne; the Indians sold the fish to the people. This method of catching fish, is, I believe, unknown any where else, and was very surprising; and, what is also very strange, after the Indians went away, we hauled the seyne over the pond, and could never get a fish.

Monday the 28th, returned with the barge; the first evening we were out we had a good harbour for the barge, which we put into; the first animal we saw was a fine large bitch big with puppies, we kill'd her, we then roasted one side and boiled the other, were exceedingly well pleased with our fare, supped heartily, and slept well: The next morning we got up at day-break, and proceeded on our cruize, finding all along the coast to be very dangerous; at evening put into a place of very good shelter for the barge: Here we found the Indians had been very lately, the shore being covered with the offals of seal; in an hour's time we killed ten wild fawn, we roasted three geese and two ducks, the rest we put into a sea pye, so that we fared most elegantly; got up at day-light next morning, but seeing the weather hazy and dirty, thought it not proper to put out with the barge, fearing we should not get a harbour before night; we took a walk five miles in the country cross the land to the southward, but could not see any shelter for the boat, being then twelve leagues from the place we came from, so we returned back in the evening, and got into a fine sandy bay; I think it as good a harbour for shipping as any I ever saw: Coming into this bay, saw the southmost land, which we had seen before, bearing about S.S.W. right over an inlet of land, above two miles. After landing, lived as we did last night; in the morning we walked over, where we found a deep bay, it being eighteen leagues deep, and twelve leagues broad; here we had a very good prospect of the coast; we found here the green pease that Sir John Narborough mentions in his book.

Saturday, the 3d of October, after our return from the cruize, the lieutenant, the master, myself, the boatswain, and Mr J——s the mate, went to the captain, to acquaint him how forward the boat was, and to consult some measures to be observ'd on board the boat, to prevent mutiny; he desir'd a day or two to consider of it.

On Monday, the 5th, the carpenter sent his case bottle, as usual, to the captain, to be filled with wine, but it was sent back empty, with this answer, I will give him none: This

This sudden change of the captain's behaviour to the carpenter, proceeded from some words which the latter dropt, and were carried to the captain; the words the carpenter spoke were to this purport, that he was not to be led by favour or affection, nor to be biassed by a bottle of brandy. To-day we heeled the long-boat, and caulked the star-board side, paid her bottom with wax, tallow, and soap that came out of the ship.

Tuesday the 6th, hard gales at N.W. and N., with rain: This morning the lieutenant acquainted us of the captain's resolution, which was to be captain as before, and to be governed by the rules of the navy, and to stand or fall by them; it was objected in the present situation, the rules of the navy are not sufficient to direct us, several rules being requisite in our circumstances which are not mention'd there, that the whole body of officers and people are determin'd not to be govern'd by those rules at present. This objection was started, not from a disrespect to those rules, but we imagin'd, if Captain C——p was restor'd to the absolute command he had before the loss of the Wager, that he would proceed again on the same principles, never on any exigency consult his officers, but act arbitrarily, according to his humour and confidence of superior knowledge; while he acts with reason, we will support his command with our lives, but some restriction is necessary for our own preservation. We think him a gentleman worthy to have a limited command, but too dangerous a person to be trusted with an absolute one. This afternoon the people insisted to be serv'd brandy out of the casks that were buried under ground, accordingly they were serv'd half a pint each man. Got the long-boat upright.

Thursday the 18th, this day the master went to the captain concerning ten half barrels of powder more than can be carried off, which will make good water casks for the boats; the captain told him not to start the powder, or destroy any thing, without his orders, and said, he must have time to consider of it. In the afternoon Captain P—mb—rt—n, of the land forces, came on the beach and desired the assistance of the seamen to take Captain C——p a prisoner, for the death of Mr Cozens, the midshipman, telling us, he should be call'd to an account, if he did not. This evening the carpenter went up to the hill-tent, so called from its situation; the people were shooting balls at

 marks,

marks, some of 'em were firing in vollies, without shot or sluggs; one of the men on the beach fir'd at the tent while the carpenter was in it, who was standing with a book in his hand; there was a piece of beef hung close at his cheek, the ball went through the tent and the beef, but the carpenter receiv'd no damage. To-day I overhaul'd the powder, and told the lieutenant that I had twenty-three half barrels in store, and that we could not carry off in the vessel above six half barrels, therefore proposed to start the overplus into the sea, and make water casks of the half barrels, they being very proper for that purpose. I desired him to acquaint the captain with my intention; that since he had no regard for the publick good, or any thing that tended to promoting it, the carpenter and I had determin'd never to go near him again. The lieutenant declin'd going, fearing the captain would murther him, but he sent the master to him, to let him know the necessity of starting the powder; the captain's answer to the master was, I desire you will not destroy any one thing without my orders. We now are convinc'd the captain hath no intention of going to the southward, notwithstanding he had lately given his word and honour that he would; therefore Captain P—mb—r-t—n, in order to put an end to all future obstructions, demanded our assistance to make him a prisoner for the shooting Mr Cozens, intending to carry him as such to England; at the same time to confine Lieutenant H——n with him, which was readily agreed to by the whole body. It was reckon'd dangerous to suffer the captain any longer to enjoy liberty, therefore the lieutenant, gunner, carpenter, and Mr J——s the mate, resolv'd next morning to surprize him in his bed.

Friday the 9th, this morning went in a body and surpriz'd the captain in bed, disarm'd him, and took every thing out of his tent. The captain said to the seamen, What are you about? where are my officers? at which the master, gunner, carpenter, and boatswain, went in. The captain said, Gentlemen, do you know what you have done, or are about? He was answer'd, Yes, sir; our assistance was demanded by Captain P——n, to secure you as a prisoner for the death of Mr Cozens; and as we are subjects of Great Britain, we are oblig'd to take you as such to England. The captain said, Gentlemen, Captain P——n has nothing to do with me, I am your commander still, I will shew you my

instructions,

instructions, which he did to the people, on this we came out. He then call'd his officers a second time, and said, What is this for? He was answer'd as before, that assistance was demanded by Captain P——n to take him prisoner for the death of Mr Cozens. He still insisted, Captain P——n has no business with me, I could not think you would serve me so. It was told him, Sir, it is your own fault, you have given yourself no manner of concern for the publick good, on our going from hence, but have acted quite the reverse, or else been so careless and indifferent about it, as if we had no commander, and if other persons had given themselves no more trouble and concern than you have, we should not be ready to go from hence as long as provisions lasted. The captain said, Very well, gentlemen, you have caught me napping; I do not see any of you in liquor, you are a parcel of brave fellows, but my officers are scoundrels: Then turning himself to me, he said, Gunner, where's my lieutenant? did not he head you? I told him, No, sir, but was here to see it executed, and is here now. One of you, says the captain, call Mr B——s. When Mr B——s came, he said, What is all this for, sir? Sir, it is Captain P——n's order. Captain P——n hath no business with me, and you will answer for it hereafter, if I do not live to see England, I hope some of my friends will. On this the lieutenant left him. The captain then address'd himself to the seamen, saying, My lads, I do not blame you, but it is the villainy of my officers, which they will answer for hereafter. He then call'd Mr B——s again, and said, Well, sir, what do you design to do by me? The lieutenant answer'd, Sir, your officers have design'd the purser's tent for you. Hum! I should be obliged to the gentlemen, if they would let me stay in my own tent. The lieutenant came to acquaint the officers of the captain's request, but they judg'd it inconvenient, as Mr H——n's tent join'd the purser's, one guard might serve 'em both; accordingly all his things were mov'd to the purser's tent: As he was coming along, he said, Gentlemen, you must excuse my not pulling my hat off, my hands are confin'd. Well, Captain B——s, you will be call'd to an account for this hereafter. The boatswain, after the captain's confinement, most barbarously insulted him, reproaching him with striking him, saying, Then it was your time, but now, G—d d—n you, it is mine. The captain made no reply but this, You are a scoundrel for using a

gentleman

gentleman ill when he is a prisoner. When the captain was a prisoner, he declar'd, he never intended to go to the southward, having more honour than to turn his back on his enemies; and farther, he said, Gentlemen, I do not want to go off in any of your craft, for I never design'd to go for England, and would rather chuse to be shot by you; there is not a single man on the beach dare engage me, but this is what I fear'd.

It is very odd, that Captain C—— p should now declare he never intended to go to the southward, when he publickly gave his word and honour he would go that way, or any way where the spirit of the people led: But he afterwards told his officers, he knew he had a severe trial to go through, if ever he came to England; and as for those who liv'd to return to their country, the only favour he requested from them, was to declare the truth, without favour or prejudice, and this we promis'd faithfully to do: His words, in this respect, were as much regarded by us as the words of a dying man, and have been most punctually observ'd.

Saturday the 10th, little wind at N. and N.W. Getting all ready for going off this afternoon, the captain sent for the lieutenant and me, desiring us both to go to Captain P——n, to know what he intended to do with him. We accordingly came, and both promised to go directly, and bring him his answer. When we came out, went to the lieutenant's tent; from thence I expected, and made no doubt but he would go to Captain P——n's: But when I ask'd him he refused, which very much surprised me. I thought it very ungenerous to trifle with Captain C——p, or any gentleman in his unhappy situation; therefore went alone to Captain Pemberton. When I delivered him Captain C——p's message, the answer was, I design, and must carry him prisoner to England. I return'd, and acquainted Captain C——p with Captain P——n's answer: He ask'd me then if the lieutenant was with me. I told him, no; and I believe did not design it. He said, Mr Bulkeley, I am very much obliged to you, and could not think the lieutenant would use me thus. In the evening the lieutenant and I were sent for again: The captain said to the lieutenant, Sir, have you been with Captain P——n? He answer'd, No, sir. I thought, sir, you promised me you would: However, I have his answer from Mr Bulkeley; I am to be carried a prisoner to England. Gentlemen,

men, I shall never live to see England, but die by inches in the voyage; and it is surprising to me to think what you can expect by going to the southward, where there are ten thousand difficulties to be encounter'd with: I am sorry so many brave fellows should be led to go where they are not acquainted, when, by going to the northward, there is the island of Chili, not above ninety leagues, where we need not fear taking prizes, and may have a chance to see the commodore. I made answer, Sir, you have said that we shall be call'd to an account for this in England: I must tell you, for my part, had I been guilty of any crime, and was sure of being hang'd for it in England, I would make it my choice to go there, sooner than to the northward: Have not you given your word and honour to go to the southward? It is true there is a chance in going to the northward, by delivering us from this unhappy situation of life to a worse, viz. a Spanish prison. The captain said no more but this, Gentlemen, I wish you well and safe to England.

Sunday the 11th, this morning the captain sent for me, and told me he had rather be shot than carried off a prisoner, and that he would not go off with us; therefore desired me to ask the people to suffer him to remain on the island: The people readily agreed to his request, and also consented to leave him all things needful for his support, as much as could be spared. Lieutenant H——n and the surgeon chose to stay with him. We offer'd him also the barge and yawl, if he could procure men to go with him. The question was proposed before the whole body, but they all cry'd aloud for England, and let him stay and be d—'d; does he want to carry us to a prison? There is not a man will go. The captain being deprived of his command in the manner above-mentioned, and for the reasons already given, it was resolved to draw some articles to be sign'd for the good of the community, and to give the lieutenant a limited command. The paper was drawn up in this manner:—

"Whereas Captain David C——p, our commander in his majesty's ship the Wager, never consulted any of his officers for the safety and preservation of the said ship, and his majesty's subjects thereto belonging, but several times, since

since the unhappy loss of the said ship, he has been solicited in the most dutiful manner, promising him at the same time to support his command with our lives, desiring no more than to go off heart in hand from this place to the southward, which he gave his word and honour to do; and being almost ready for sailing, did apply to him some few days past, to draw up some proper articles, in order to suppress mutiny, and other material things, which were thought necessary to be agreed to before we went off; but he, in the most scornful manner, hath rejected every thing proposed for the public good, and as he is now a prisoner, and the command given to the lieutenant, upon his approbation of the following articles:

"First, As we have no conveniency for dressing provisions on board the vessel, for a third part of the number to be carried off the spot, therefore this day served out to every man and boy twelve days' provision, for them to dress before we go off; and also it is agreed, that whoever is guilty of defrauding another of any part of his allowance, on sufficient proof thereof, the person found guilty (without any respect of person) shall be put on shore at the first convenient place, and left there.

"Secondly, In regard to the boats going off with us, we think proper to allow one week's provision for each man appointed to go in them, in order to prevent separation from each other, which would be of the worst consequence of any thing that can happen to us: To prevent which, we do agree, that when under way they shall not separate, but always keep within musket-shot, and on no pretence or excuse whatsoever go beyond that reach. The officer, or any other person, that shall attempt a separation, or exceed the above-mention'd bounds, shall, on proof, be put on shore, and left behind.

"Thirdly, It is agreed, in order to suppress mutiny, and prevent broils and quarrels on board the vessel, that no man shall threaten the life of another, or offer violence in any shape, the offender, without any respect of station or quality, being found guilty, shall be put on shore, and left behind.

"Fourthly, We do agree, whatever fowl, fish, or necessaries of life, we shall happen to meet with on our passage, the same shall be divided among the whole, and if Captain David

David C——p shall be put on board a prisoner, it shall not be in the lieutenant's power to release him.

"The aforesaid articles were agreed to, and sign'd by the undermention'd,

Robert Beans, lieutenant
Thomas Clark, master
John King, boatswain
John Bulkeley, gunner
John Cummins, carpenter
Thomas Harvey, purser
Robert Elliot, surgeon's mate
John Jones, master's mate
John Snow, ditto
The Hon. John Byron, midshipman
Alexander Campbell, ditto
Isaac Morris, ditto
Thomas Maclean, cook
Richard Phipps, boatswain's mate
John Mooring, ditto
Matthew Langley, gunner's mate
Guy Broadwater, coxswain
Samuel Stook, seaman
Joseph Clinch, ditto
John Duck, ditto
Peter Plastow, captain's steward
John Pitman, butcher
David Buckley, quarter-gune
Richard Noble, quarter-master
William Moore, captain's cook
George Smith, seaman
Benjamin Smith, ditto
William Oram, carpenter's mate
John Hart, joiner
John Bosman, seaman
William Harvey, quarter-gunner
Richard East, seaman
Samuel Cooper, ditto
Job Barns, ditto
Joseph Butler, ditto
William Rose, quarter-master
John Shoreham, seaman
John Hayes, ditto
Henry Stephens, ditto
William Callicutt, ditto
John Russel, armourer
James MacCawle, seaman
William Lane, ditto
James Roach, ditto
John George, ditto
John Young, cooper
Moses Lewis, gunner's mate
Nicholas Griselham, seaman."

Monday the 12th, at day-light, launch'd the long-boat, and gave her the name of the Speedwell, (which God preserved to deliver us) we got all the provision on board, and other necessaries. The captain sent for the lieutenant, myself, and the carpenter, desiring us to leave him what could be spared, and to send to the deserters to know if

they will go in the yawl to the northward, we promised to grant him his request. To-day every body got on board. The captain, surgeon, and Mr H——n, had their share of provisions equal with us.

Tuesday the 13th, we sent the barge to the deserters, with Mr S——w, the mate, to know if they were willing to tarry, and go with the captain to the northward, to acquaint them what provision and necessaries should be allow'd 'em: They readily agreed to tarry. On the return of the boat, deliver'd to the captain the share of provision for the deserters, and sundry necessaries, as under-mentioned, viz.

Six hand-grenadoes, five half barrels of powder, two caggs of musket-balls, Lieutenant H——n's pistols and gun, one pair of pistols for the captain, twelve musket-flints, six pistol-flints, sundry carpenter's tools, half a pint of sweet oil, two swords of the captain's own, five muskets, twelve pistol balls, one bible, one azimuth compass, one quadrant, and one Gunter's scale.

Provision deliver'd to the captain, surgeon, and Lieutenant H——n, with eight deserters, which last are to be at half allowance of the quantity made out to the people, which make the whole number seven at whole allowance.

To the captain, surgeon, and Lieutenant H——n, six pieces of beef, six pieces of pork, and ninety pound of flour; for the deserters, eight pieces of beef, eight pieces of pork, one hundred weight of flour.

As soon as the above things were delivered, we got ready for sailing. I went and took my leave of the captain; he repeated his injunction, that at my return to England I would impartially relate all proceedings: He spoke to me in the most tender and affectionate manner, and, as a token of his friendship and regard for me, desired me to accept of a suit of his best wearing apparel: At parting he gave me his hand with a great deal of chearfulness, wishing me well and safe to England. This was the last time I ever saw the unfortunate Captain C——p. However, we hope to see him again in England, that Mr Cummins and myself may be freed from some heavy imputations to our prejudice, laid on us by the gentleman who succeeded him in command, and who, having an opportunity of arriving before us in England, not only in the places he touched at abroad, but at home, has blackened us with the greatest

calumnies,

calumnies, and by an imperfect narrative, has not only traduced us, but made the whole affair so dark and mystical, that till the captain's arrival the l——s of the a——y will not decide for or against us. But if that unfortunate captain never returns to his country, let us do so much justice to his character, to declare that he was a gentleman possessed of many virtues: He was an excellent seaman himself, and loved a seaman; as for personal bravery, no man had a larger share of it; even when a prisoner he preserved the dignity of a commander, no misfortune could dispirit or deject him, and fear was a weakness he was entirely a stranger to; the loss of the ship was the loss of him; he knew how to govern while he was a commander on board, but when things were brought to confusion and disorder, he thought to establish his command ashore by his courage, and to suppress the least insult on his authority on the first occasion; an instance of this was seen on the boatswain's first appearing ashore—shooting Mr Cozens, and treating him in the manner he did after his confinement, was highly resented by the people, who soon got the power in their own hands; the officers only had the name, and they were often compelled, for the preservation of their lives, to comply sometimes with their most unreasonable demands; and it is a miracle, amidst the wildness and distraction of the people, that there was no more bloodshed.

At eleven in the forenoon, the whole body of people embarked, to the number of eighty-one souls, fifty-nine on board the vessel, on board the cutter twelve, and in the barge ten. At noon got under sail, the wind at N.W. by W. The captain, surgeon, and Mr H——n, being on the shore side, we gave them three cheers, which they returned. Coming out of Wager's Bay, split the foresail, and very narrowly escaped the rocks; with the assistance of the barge and our own oars, tow'd her clear, and bore away into a large sandy bay, on the south side of the lagoon, which we called by the name of the Speedwell Bay. At four in the afternoon, anchored in ten fathom fine sand, the barge and cutter went ashore, there not being room on board the boat to lodge the people.

Wednesday the 14th, fresh gales at S. W. and W., with rain. At three this afternoon, being fair weather, weigh'd, and

and came to sail to take a cruize up the lagoon, to try the vessel, it being smooth water she work'd very well; after three or four trips returned, and anchor'd where we came from.

"These are to certify the right honourable the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, That we, whose names are under-mentioned, do beg leave to acquaint your lordships that Captain David Cheap, our late commander in his majesty's ship Wager, having publicly declared, that he will never go off this spot, at his own request desires to be left behind; but Captain Pemberton, of his majesty's land forces, having confined him a prisoner for the death of Mr Henry Cozens, midshipman, with Lieutenant Hamilton, for breaking his confinement, did insist on delivering them up on the beach to the charge of Lieutenant Beans, but he, with his officers and people, consulting the ill consequences that might attend carrying two prisoners off in so small a vessel, and for so long and tedious a passage as we are likely to have, and that they might have opportunities of acting such things in secret as may prove destructive to the whole body; and also in regard to the chief article of life, as the greatest part of the people must be obliged at every place we stop, to go on shore in search of provisions, and there being now no less than eighty-one souls in this small vessel, which we hope to be delivered in, we therefore, to prevent any difficulties to be added to the unforeseen we have to encounter with, think proper to agree, and in order to prevent murder, to comply with Captain David Cheap's request: The surgeon also begs leave to be left with him. Dated on board the Speedwell schooner, in Cheap's Bay, this 14th day of October, 1741.

Robert Beans, lieutenant
Thomas Clark, master
John King, boatswain
John Bulkeley, gunner
John Cummins, master
Robert Elliot, surgeon's mate
John Jones, master's mate
John Snow, ditto
Captain Pemberton, of his majesty's land forces
Vincent Oakley, surgeon of ditto."

Thursday

Thursday the 15th, this morning it being calm, made a signal for the boats to come off, by firing five muskets. At day-light came to sail, with the wind at W. by N. It blowing hard, and a great swell, the vessel would not work, therefore we were obliged to put into a small bay, lying S.W. of Harvey's Bay, where we had very good shelter, there being a large ledge of rocks without us, which broke the sea off. At eleven we sent the barge to Cheap's Bay, for what canvass could be found serviceable, having left a sufficient quantity behind to supply us with sails, in case we wanted 'em. Went in the barge the Hon. John Byron, at his own request, Alexander Campbell, midshipman; William Harvey, quarter-gunner; David Buckley, ditto; William Rose, quarter-master; Richard Noble, ditto; Peter Plastow, captain's steward; Joseph Clinch, seaman, and Rowland Crusset, marine. This afternoon the carpenter went ashore in the cutter, with several of the people, to look for provender. Shot several geese, and other sea-fowl. Rainy weather. Wind W.N.W.

Friday the 16th, continual rain, and hard gales all night at S.W. This morning the carpenter came on board, and acquainted us that he saw an anchor of seven feet in the shank, the palm of each arm filed off just above the crown: This anchor we suppose to have belonged to some small vessel wreck'd on the coast. The cutter brought off abundance of shell-fish ready dress'd for the people.

Sunday, the 18th, at noon, the cutter came off, and brought aboard plenty of shell-fish and greens. The Hon. Mr B——n, Mr C——l, and three of the barge's crew, came from where the barge lay. Mr B——n came aboard, and inform'd us of the barge being safe in the bay where we left her, and only waited the opportunity of weather to come round with her: At the same time he desired to know if we would give him, and those who would stay with Captain C——p, their share of provisions. This question of Mr B——n's very much surprized us; and what surprized us more was, that he should be influenced by Mr C——l, a person whom he always held in contempt. As for my part, I believe Mr B——n left us because he could not get an accommodation aboard the vessel that he liked, being obliged to lie forward with the men; as were also the carpenter and myself when below: It is very certain, that we

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are so closely pent up for want of room, that the worst jail in England is a palace to our present situation.

Tuesday the 20th, served out to the people eight days' flour, to be dress'd ashore. I went in the cutter to command in my turn for a week.

Wednesday the 21st, close weather; the wind from W. to N.W., with rain and hail. Brought aboard shell-fish in abundance. At noon the Honourable Mr B——n came with some of the crew over-land; he ask'd me whether the boat's crew were gone off, and if we had served the provision, for he wanted to return to the barge. I told him all the people were out a-fishing, and that the first who came in should carry him off. On which he said, I think we will go and get some fish too, having nothing else to live on. This was the last time I ever saw his honour. When the people return'd from fishing, they told me Mr B——n had lost his hat, the wind blowing it off his head. I said, rather than he should want a hat I would give him my own. One of the seamen forced a hat on his head; his name was John Duck: But Mr B——n would by no means wear it, saying, John, I thank you, if I accept of your kindness you must go bareheaded, and I think I can bear hardships as well as the best of you, and must use myself to them. I took eight people and went overland to the place where the barge lay, to get the canvass that we stood so much in need of, but found that she was gone from thence. The people in the barge told our men that they would return to us again, but it is plain they never intended it.

Thursday the 22d, this day we saw sea-fowl in vast flocks, flying to the southward, where was a dead whale. Look'd out all this day for the barge, but to no purpose. The barge not returning was a very great misfortune, having no boat but the cutter; and if by an unlucky accident we lose her, we must be reduced to the greatest extremities to get provision. The persons in the barge, except the captain's steward, always approved of going to the southward, but it seems Mr C——l, the poltron, prevail'd on 'em to return to Captain C——p.

Friday the 23d, saw thousands of sea-fowl; in the morning they fly to the northward, and in the evening come back to the south; they are birds of a very large size, but of what kind we do not know. Since we have been here

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we saw several Indian graves; they are dug just within the surface of the earth, with a board on each side, and a cross stuck up at the head. The day following, a gun, a four-pounder, was seen near the anchor in Clam Bay; we call it by this name, because of the vast quantities of this sort of shell-fish which are found there.

Monday the 26th, it being very calm and fair weather, I went ashore to bring off the people; weigh'd the long-boat, and took her in tow over a bar where there was ten feet water, but a great swell; as soon as we got over the bar there sprung up a breeze of wind at N.W., steer'd away S. ½ E. for the southmost part of land, which bore S. by E., distant fourteen leagues. The two points of land make a large and deep sandy bay, we sounded but found no ground; it is a bold shore close to. I kept a-head in the cutter, in order to provide a harbour for the long-boat; Providence directed us to a very good one: It blew so hard, with thick hazy weather, that we could not keep the sea. At eight at night we anchor'd in eight fathom water, a-breast of a fine sandy bay, and land-locked not above three boats length from the shore: At the entrance of the harbour, which lies about a league up the lagoon, I set the land, the northmost point bore by the compass N. by E., distant twelve leagues, and the southmost S. by W., distant five leagues; the entrance lies E.

Tuesday the 27th, fresh gales at west, and cloudy weather, with a great swell without, insomuch that we could not put out to sea; we therefore sent the people ashore to dress their provisions; each man is allow'd but a quarter of a pound of flour per day, without any other subsistence but what Providence brings in our way.

Thursday, the 29th, early this morning it being calm and thick weather, with small rain, we rowed out of the lagoon; at five it cleared up, with a fresh breeze at S. S. E., steer'd S.W. and S. W. by W., saw a small island bearing S. by W., the southmost end S. by E. This island we called the rock of Dundee, it being much like that island in the West-Indies, but not so large; it lieth about four leagues distant from the southmost point of land out at sea. This day it blow'd so hard that we were obliged to take the cutter in tow.

Friday the 30th, hard gales, and a great sea; saw some islands and some sunken rocks; at six saw the main in two points

points of land, with a large opening; on each side the sunken rocks are innumerable; the entrance is so dangerous, that no mortal would attempt it unless his case was desperate as ours, we have nothing but death before our eyes in keeping the sea, and the same prospect in running in with the land: We ran in before the wind to the opening that appear'd between the two points, the northmost of which bore N. by E., and the southmost S. by E. We steered in east, and found the opening to be a large lagoon on the southmost side, running into a very good harbour; here our small vessel lay secure in a cove, which nature had form'd like a dock; we had no occasion to let go our anchor, but ran alongside the land, and made fast our head and stern. The people went ashore in search of provision; here we found plenty of wood and water, and fine large muscles in great quantities. Served to each man half a piece of beef.

Saturday the 31st, this morning cast loose and row'd towards the mouth of the lagoons, designing to put out to sea, but the wind blew so hard that we were obliged to come to an anchor. This afternoon, in weighing the grapnel in order to go to the cove, we found it foul among some rocks, all hands haul'd, took a turn round the main-mast and went aft, which weighed the grapnel, but straightened one of the flukes: Here the land is very high and steep on each side, the carpenter and cooper were on the highest of these hills, and found deep ponds of water on the top of them; these hills are very rocky, and there are great falls of water all along the coast: The whole navy of England may lie with safety in many of those lagoons, but the coast is too dangerous for any ship to fall in with the land. The people today were very much afflicted with the gripes and pains in their side. Here are abundance of trees, not unlike our yew-trees, they are not above seven or eight inches in diameter, and the bark is like cedar. The land is to appearance very good, but on digging beneath the surface we find it almost an entire stone. We saw no people here, though it is plain there have been some lately, by their wigwams or huts. We are so closely pent up for want of room, that our lodging is very uncomfortable; the stench of the men's wet cloaths makes the air we breathe nauseous to that degree, that one would think it impossible for a man to live below. We came to sail, and steered out of the lagoon west;

west; went into a sandy bay one league to the southward of the lagoon. Indian huts to be seen, but no natives.

Monday November 2d, at five in the morning, came to sail with the wind at S. and S. by E. At noon the wind came to the W. and W.N.W. in small breezes. This day I had a very good observation, it being the first since we left Cheap's Island. We found ourselves in the latitude of 50° 0′ S. After observing, bore away and ran into a fine smooth passage between the island and the main. These islands I believe to be the same that are taken notice of in Cook's voyage. From the entrance to the northward, to the going out of the Cape of Good Hope (as we call it) the distance is about six leagues, and the depth of the water is from two fathom to twelve; the northmost land before we came into the passage bore N. by W., and the southmost, or Cape of Good Hope, bore S. by E. In the evening anchored in a fine sandy bay; here we also saw Indian huts, but no people. To-day we shot wild geese in abundance, and got of shell-fish, as limpets and muscles.

Tuesday the 3d, at four this morning weighed, and came to sail with the wind at W., till we got about the Cape of Good Hope, then at W.N.W., steering S., and a tumbling sea from the W. The cutter steer'd S. by E. into a deep bay; supposing them not to see the southmost land, we made the signal for her, by hoisting an ensign at the topping-lift; as the cutter was coming up to us her square sail splitted, we offer'd to take them in tow, but they would not accept it; we lay with our sails down some time before they would show any signal of making sail; coming before the wind, and a large sea, we ordered them to steer away for the southmost point of land after us, and to keep as near us as possible; but, instead of observing our directions, they steered away into the cod of a deep bay, supposed to be King's Bay: The cutter being much to leeward, and the weather being very thick, we were obliged to steer after her, but soon lost sight of her. The place being exceeding dangerous, we could not venture any farther after the cutter, therefore we hauled by the wind to the southward, it continued blowing hard, with thick weather, with sunken rocks and breakers, so that we were obliged to bear away before the wind into a large bay, the tide running rampant, and in a great swell, every where surrounded with sunken rocks, that we thought nothing but a miracle could save us;

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at last we got safe into the bay, and came to in two fathom water, we steered in east. At four this morning rowed out between the islands, after we got out had a fresh breeze at N.W., steered out S.S.W. then S. and S. by E., the cutter a-head. At seven in the morning a-breast of Cape Good Hope, saw a large high rock bearing S., steered S. by E, going within it, and the main a-breast of the rocks, saw a long point making into islands bearing S. by E, steer'd S. until a-breast of them: The same day saw a very high land, with a low point running off in small hommacoes, bearing from the northmost point S. by E. about eighteen leagues; between those two points is a large deep bay, all within surrounded with rocks and small islands, steered S. and S. by W. for the outermost point, the cutter keeping within, and we considering the ill consequence of being embayed, to prevent which we hauled the mainsail and foresail down, and kept the vessel before the wind; at eleven the cutter came alongside, with her mainsail split; we called to them to take hold of a tow-rope, but they refused, telling us that the boat would not bear towing, by reason of the swell of the sea, therefore they would have us nearer the shore, where we should have smooth water; we answered them that the water was smoother without, and nothing nigh the sea that runs within; besides, we shall be embay'd, therefore we desire you to come on board the vessel, and we'll take the boat in tow: They had no regard to what we said; we at the same time, for above a quarter of an hour, lay in the trough of the sea, with a fair wind: The people in the cutter would neither make sail nor row, at last, finding them obstinate, we hoisted a skirt of the mainsail, and edged farther off, S. by W.; when they found we would not go into that bay, they hoisted their mainsail, and went a-head; being some distance a-head, we made sail, the cutter still keeping a-head till one o'clock, then she bore away S. by E. and S.S.E., the reason of which we could not tell, it blowing very hard, with a great sea, nothing before us but rocks and breakers, therefore of consequence the farther in the sea must be the greater. At half an hour past two, the cutter being on the beam, and four miles within us, we bore away after them, and in a very heavy squall of wind and rain we lost sight of her: After the squall was over it cleared up, but we saw nothing of the cutter, nor could we clear the shore to the northward, being not above two miles off

the

the breakers; therefore we were under a necessity of hauling to the southward for self-preservation, and very narrowly escaped clearing the rocks: After running about three leagues, saw an opening, where we hoped to find a good harbour, bore away for the opening, we were here again surrounded with rocks and breakers, with a hard gale of wind and a great sea, the oldest seaman on board never saw a more dismal prospect; we ran in before the wind for about two leagues, expecting every rise and fall of the sea to be a wreck, but Providence at length conducted us to an indifferent place of shelter: We were now in a most wretched condition, having no boat to go ashore in, to seek for provender, and the greatest part of the people on board are so regardless of life, that they really appear quite indifferent whether they shall live or die, and it is with much intreaty that any of them can be prevailed on to come upon deck, to assist for their preservation.

The people's names in the cutter are as follow, viz.

| Names. | Quality. | Age. | Where born. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Harvey, | purser, | 25 | Westminster. |
| John Mooring, | boatswain's mate, | 34 | Gosport. |
| William Oram, | carpenter's crew, | 28 | Philadelphia. |
| Richard Phipps, | boatswain's mate, | 30 | Bristol. |
| Matthew Lively, | gunner's mate, | 34 | Exeter. |
| John George, | seaman, | 22 | Wandsworth. |
| Nicholas Griselham, | ditto, | 31 | Ipswich. |
| James Stewart, | ditto, | 35 | Aberdeen. |
| James Roach, | ditto, | 21 | Cork. |
| James Butler, | ditto, | 32 | Dublin. |
| John Allen, | ditto, | 18 | Gosport. |

Wednesday the 4th, hard gales at W.N.W., and a great sea without; served out flour and a piece of beef to two men for a week's subsistence; the weather is so bad that there is no other food to be got.

Thursday the 5th, little wind at S.W., with heavy rains; at six this morning went under sail, but could make no hand of it, therefore were obliged to put back again: As soon as we came to an anchor, the boatswain employed himself in making a raft to get ashore with; this raft was made with oars and water barrels; when it was made, and over the side, it

it would carry three men, but it was no sooner put off from the vessel's side but it canted, and obliged the people to swim for their lives; the boatswain got hold of the raft, and with some difficulty reach'd the shore; when he came off in the evening, he informed us he had seen a beef puncheon, which gave us some reason to apprehend some other ship of the squadron had suffered our fate.

Friday the 6th, this morning went under sail, the wind at W.N.W., with fresh gales and heavy rain, the wind came to the westward, and a great sea, so that we could not turn out over the bar: In our putting back we saw the cutter, a very agreeable sight, which gave us new life; in the evening anchored at the place sailed from, the carpenter and others went ashore to get shell-fish, which we stood in great need of; at night the proper boat's crew would not go ashore with the boat as usual, but made her fast a-stern of the vessel, with only two men in her, she never being left without four before; at eleven at night one of the men came out of her into the vessel, it blowing very hard at N.N.E., in half an hour shifted to N.W., and rainy weather, that we could not see a boat's length: At two the next morning the cutter broke loose from the stern of the vessel; we called from on board to James Stewart, the man that was in her, but he could not hear us: In a short time we lost sight of her, believing she must be stove among the rocks. The loss of the cutter gives the few thinking people aboard a great deal of uneasiness; we have seventy-two men in the vessel, and not above six of that number that gives themselves the least concern for the preservation of their lives, but are rather the reverse, being ripe for mutiny and destruction; this is a great affliction to the lieutenant, myself, and the carpenter, we know not what to do to bring them under any command, they have troubled us to that degree, that we are weary of our lives; therefore, this day we have told the people, that unless they alter their conduct, and subject themselves to command, that we will leave them to themselves, and take our chance in this desolate part of the globe, rather than give ourselves any farther concern about so many thoughtless wretches. Divided the people into four watches, to make more room below. The people have promised to be under government, and seem much easier.

Sunday the 8th, this morning the people requested provisions,

visions to be served; it being four days before the usual time, we think the request very unreasonable. We laid the inconveniences before them of breaking in upon our stores, considering the badness of the weather, and the length of our passage, that if we are not exceedingly provident in regard to serving out provisions, we must all inevitably starve. They will not hearken to reason, therefore we are obliged to comply with their demands, and serve out provisions accordingly. Several of the people have desired to be put on shore, desiring us to allow them some few necessaries: We wanted to know what could induce them to request our putting them ashore in this remote and desolate part of the world: They answer'd, they did not fear doing well, and doubted not but to find the cutter, which, if they did, they would go back to the northward, otherwise they would make a canoe; therefore insisted on going ashore. On their earnest intreaties the body of people agreed to their request: We haul'd the boat close in shore; the people who chose to stay behind were eleven in number, we supply'd them with proper necessaries, and they signed a certificate, to inform the L——s of the A——y, that they were not compelled to stay, but made it their own choice, and that they did it for the preservation of themselves and us.

*A Copy of their Certificate.*

"These are to certify, the right honourable the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we, whose names are under mentioned, since the misfortune of losing the cutter, have consider'd the ill conveniences and difficulties to be attended, where so great a number of people are to be carried off, therefore we have requested and desired the officers and company remaining of the same vessel to put us on shore, with such necessaries of life as can be conveniently spared out of the vessel. We, of our own free will and choice, do indemnify all persons from ever being call'd to an account for putting us on shore, or leaving us behind, contrary to our inclinations. Witness our hands, on board the Speedwell schooner, in the latitude 50° 40′ S. this 8th day of November, 1741. Which was signed by the following people, viz.

Mat.

Mat. Langley, gunner's mate
John Russel, armourer
George Smith, cook's mate
William Callicutt, washerman
John Williamson, marine
John McLeod, boatswain's servant
John Hart, joiner
Joseph Turner, captain's servant
Luke Lyon, gunner's servant
Rich. Phipps, boatswain's mate
Henry Mortimer, marine.

Witness, John Cummins, carpenter,
John Snow, master's mate,
Vincent Oakley, surgeon of the army."

Monday the 9th, at ten at night, we weigh'd and rowed out of the bay, at day-light got about four leagues right out, every way surrounded with rocks and breakers, with a great western swell: We found it a very difficult matter to get clear of these rocks and breakers; they reach along shore eighteen leagues, and without us at sea eight leagues; I take it, that from the land they are fourteen leagues in the offing, those sunken rocks appear like a low level land. This coast is too dangerous for shipping, the wind being three parts of the year to the westward, which blows right on the shore, with a large western swell, that seldom or never ceases; it always blows and rains, it is worse here than in the rainy season on the coast of Guinea, nor can we as yet distinguish summer from winter, only by the length of the days. Steered out of the bay W. by N., then S. by W., then S. At noon I had a good observation in the latitude of 50° 50′ S., the northmost point of the bay bore N.E. by E. seven leagues, the southmost point of land S.S.E. twelve leagues. This coast, as far as we have come, lies N. by E. and S. by W. by the compass.

Tuesday the 10th, at four this morning made all the sail we could, steering S.E. in order to make the land, at six steer'd in E.S.E. at seven made the land; at eight saw a point of land bearing S.E. distant six leagues, which, when a-breast, seeing no land to the S. I take the point for Cape Victory, and the four islands we see I believe to be the islands of Direction, which Sir John Narborough gives an account of, excepting the distance, they exactly answer his description; therefore, by the latitude in yesterday's observation, and by the distance we have run since, we are now at the opening of the Streights of Magellan. At ten in

in the morning, hard gales at N.W. steer'd S.E. the cape bearing E. distant four leagues; at noon bore E. by N. distant six leagues; haul'd the main-sail down, and went under a fore-sail. I never in my life, in any part of the world, have seen such a sea as runs here, we expected every wave to swallow us, and the boat to founder. This shore is full of small islands, rocks, and breakers, so that we can't haul further to the southward, for fear of endangering the boat, we are obliged to keep her right before the sea. At five broach'd to, at which we all believ'd she would never rise again. We were surrounded with rocks, and so near that a man might toss a biscuit on 'em: We had nothing but death before our eyes, and every moment expected our fate. It blew a hurricane of wind, with thick rainy weather, that we could not see twice the boat's length; we pray'd earnestly for its clearing up, for nothing else could save us from perishing; we no sooner ask'd for light, but it was granted us from above. At the weather's clearing up, we saw the land on the north shore, with islands, rocks and breakers all around us; we were oblig'd to put in among 'em for shelter, finding it impossible to keep the sea, we were in with the land amongst them, and compell'd to push thro', looking death in the face, and expecting every sea to bury us; the boldest men amongst us were dismay'd, nor can we possibly give an account in what manner we have been this day deliver'd. After sailing amidst islands, rocks, and breakers, for above a league, we got safe into a good harbour, surrounded with small islands, which kept the sea off; here the water was as smooth as in a mill-pond. We call this harbour the Port of God's Mercy, esteeming our preservation this day to be a miracle. The most abandon'd among us no longer doubt of an Almighty Being, and have promis'd to reform their lives.

Wednesday the 11th, the wind much abated, with rain. This morning weigh'd, and ran farther in. In the evening we saw two Indians lying on their bellies on the top of a steep rock, just over the vessel, peeping with their heads over the hill. As soon as we discover'd them, we made motions to them to come down; they then rose up, and put on their heads white feather'd caps; we then hoisted a white sheet for an ensign: At this they made a noise, pronouncing Orza, Orza, which we took for a signal to come ashore. We would not suffer above two men to go ashore, and

and those disarm'd, lest we should put them in fear. The Indians had nothing in their hands but a club, like our cricket-batts, with which they kill their seal. As soon as they saw the two men come ashore they walk'd away, and when they perceiv'd our men follow'd them, and gain'd ground of them, they took to their heels, frequently looking back, crying Orza, Orza, beckoning the people to follow, which they did for a mile or two along-shore, out of sight of the vessel: Then the Indians fled to the woods, still wanting our people to follow them; but being disarm'd, they were apprehensive the Indians would bush-fight them, so they thought proper to give over the pursuit, and to return to the boat.

Thursday the 12th, hard gales at W.N.W., with rain. At six this morning we again saw the two Indians, they made the same noise and motions to come ashore: At which I went with four of the people; the Indians walk'd and ran as before, looking back, and making signs to follow, which we did till we got to the place where the canoe lay with the four Indians in her. The two Indians got into the canoe, and put her off the shore before we could get nigh them: As soon as we got abreast of the canoe, they made signs as if they wanted clothing; we endeavour'd to make them understand we wanted fish, and would truck with them; they had none, but signified to us they would go and get some: They had a mangey dog, which they parted with to one of the people for a pair of cloth trowsers; this dog was soon kill'd, dress'd, and devour'd. Here we found plenty of muscles, which gave us great relief, having scarce any thing to subsist on for this week past.

Friday the 13th, very uncertain weather, and squally, the wind variable from W.N.W. to S.S.W. This morning all hands ashore a-fishing. Lieutenant E——rs of the marines kill'd a large seal or sea-dog, it is exceeding good food, and we judg'd it to have weigh'd seventeen score.

Saturday the 14th, little wind at W.N.W. and close weather, with rain. At five this morning cast loose, and steer'd south out between the islands, the weather clearing up, we saw the south shore: It first appear'd like a large island, stretching away to the westward, and at the west end two hammacoes like sugar-loaves, and to the southward of them a large point of rocks, steer'd S.E. until the point bore W.

then

then steer'd S.E. by E. I took the point for Cape Pillar, and was fully assur'd of our being in the Streights.

Sunday the 15th, at three this morning cast loose, and row'd, but could not get out, so were oblig'd to put back, and make fast, it blowing hard, with thick weather all day, in the evening it clear'd up. This day several people drove a trade with their allowance, giving silver buckles for flour, valued at twelve shillings per pound, and before night it reach'd to a guinea, the people crying aloud for provisions, which are now so scarce, that several on board are actually starving thro' want.

Monday the 16th, at three this morning cast loose, being little wind, and steer'd up the Streights S.E. by E. the wind at N.W. At eight o'clock got a-breast of Cape Munday, at nine the cape bore W. distant four leagues, at noon running along shore, made two openings, which put the rest of the officers to a stand, not knowing which to take for their right passage. Asking my opinion, I gave it for keeping on the E.S.E. passage, the other lying S.E. by S. On which they said, Sir John Narborough bids us keep the south shore on board. I answer'd, that Sir John tells us E.S.E. is the direct course from Cape Pillar: I'll venture my life that we are now in the right passage; so we kept on E. by S. half S. After running a league or two up, and not seeing Cape Quod, nor any outlet, the wind blowing hard, we were for running no farther, whereas one league more would have convinc'd every body, but they all gave against me, that we were not in the right passage: The wind being at W.N.W. we could not turn back again; so that we were oblig'd to put into a cove lying on the north shore, where we found good anchoring in four fathom water: No provisions to be got here, being a barren rocky place, producing not any thing for the preservation of life. This afternoon died George Bateman, a boy, aged sixteen years: This poor creature starv'd, perish'd, and died a skeleton, for want of food. There are several more in the same miserable condition, and who, without a speedy relief, must undergo the same fate.

Tuesday the 17th, at five this morning, weigh'd, and row'd out, it being calm; at seven a fresh breeze right up the sound, we could not turn to windward not above a mile from where we last lay, we made fast along-side the rocks; all hands ashore a-fishing for muscles, limpets, and clams; here we found those shell-fish in abundance, which prov'd

a very

a very seasonable relief. Just before we got in, one of the men gave a guinea for a pound of flour, being all the money he had.

Wednesday the 18th, the wind at W.N.W. in hard squalls, with hail and snow. This morning cast loose, and stood over to the southward, believing the tide to run stronger and more true than on the north-shore, hoping shortly to get out of the sound, which is not above a league in the wind's eye. At two o'clock got into a cove on the south side, made fast along side of the rocks; all hands on shore getting muscles and other fish.

Thursday the 19th, fresh gales W.N.W. with hail and snow. This morning cast loose, and sail'd out, but could make no hand of it, our boat will not work to windward; put back from whence we came, and sent the people ashore to get muscles. This night departed this life Mr Thomas Caple, son of the late Lieutenant Caple, aged twelve years, who perish'd for want of food. There was a person on board who had some of the youth's money, upwards of twenty guineas, with a watch and silver cup. Those last the boy was willing to sell for flour; but his guardian told him, he would buy cloaths for him in the Brazil. The miserable youth cry'd, Sir, I shall never live to see the Brazil, I am starving now, almost starv'd to death, therefore, for God's sake, give me my silver cup to get me some victuals or buy some for me yourself. All his prayers and intreaties to him were vain, but heaven sent death to his relief, and put a period to his miseries in an instant. Persons who have not experienc'd the hardships we have met with, will wonder how people can be so inhuman to see their fellow-creatures starving before their faces, and afford 'em no relief: But hunger is void of all compassion; every person was so intent on the preservation of his own life, that he was regardless of another's, and the bowels of commiseration were shut up. We slip no opportunity, day or night, to enter into the suppos'd right Streights, but can get no ground. This day we serv'd flour and a piece of beef between two men for a week. Captain P——n, of his majesty's land forces, gave two guineas for two pounds of flour; this flour was sold him by the seamen, who live on muscles. Many of the people eat their flour raw as soon as they are serv'd it. The wind and weather not permitting us to go out, the men were employ'd in getting wood and water.

Tuesday

Tuesday the 24th, this morning it being calm, row'd out, at eight o'clock had the supposed right Streights open, having a breeze at W.N.W. S.E. by E. through the first reach, and S.S.E. through the second, then saw three islands, the largest of which lies on the north-shore, and there is a passage about two miles broad between that and the islands to the southward; there is also another passage between that island and the north-shore, of a mile and a half broad. Before you come to those islands there is a sound lying on the south-shore: You can see no passage until you come close up with the island, and then the imaginary Streights are not above two miles broad. Steer'd away for the island S.E. about two leagues, then came into a narrow passage, not above a cable's length over, which put us all to a stand, doubting of any farther passage. The wind took us a-head, and the tide being spent we put into a small cove, and made fast. At seven in the evening, being calm, cast loose, being willing to see if there was any opening, but to our great misfortune, found none, which very much surpriz'd us. The lieutenant is of opinion, that we are in a lagoon to the northward of the Streights. This I cannot believe, and am positive, if ever there was such a place in the world as the Streights of Magellan, we are now in them, and above thirty leagues up. If he or any of the officers had given themselves the trouble of coming upon deck, to have made proper remarks, we had been free from all this perplexity, and by this time out of the Streights to the northward. There is not an officer aboard, except the carpenter and myself, will keep the deck a moment longer than his watch, or has any regard to a reckoning, or any thing else. It is agreed to go back again.

Wednesday the 25th, little wind with rain. At eight this morning row'd out, and got about a league down; here we could get no ground, and were obliged to put back again.

Thursday the 26th, little wind; row'd out, got about five leagues down. This day we were in such want of provisions, that we were forced to cut up the seal skin and broil it, notwithstanding it has lain about the deck for this fortnight.

Friday the 27th, little wind and close weather. This morning cast loose and row'd down, had a fresh breeze at north, steer'd W.S.W. into another opening on the south-

shore,

shore, hoping to find a passage out of the lagoon, as the lieutenant calls it, into the right Streights. After going two leagues up saw there was no opening, put back and made fast where we came from, being determin'd to go back and make Cape Pillar a second time, which is the south entrance of the Streights. Got abundance of large muscles, five or six inches long, a very great relief to us at present.

Sunday the 29th, hard gales from N.W. to S.W. with heavy rains. Great uneasiness among the people, many of them despairing of a deliverance, and crying aloud to serve provisions four days before the time. Finding no way to pacify them, we were obliged to serve them. We endeavoured to encourage and comfort them as much as lay in our power, and at length they seemed tolerably easy.

Monday the 30th, fresh gales at W. with continual rain. This day died three of our people, viz. Peter Delroy, barber, Thomas Thorpe and Thomas Woodhead, marines, they all perish'd for want of food: Several more are in the same way, being not able to go ashore for provisions, and those who are well cannot get sufficient for themselves, therefore the sick are left destitute of all relief. There is one thing to be taken notice of in the death of those people, that some hours before they die they are taken light-headed, and fall a joking and laughing, and in this humour they expire.

Tuesday, December the 1st, 1741, little wind, and fair weather, which is a kind of prodigy in those parts. In the morning put out of the cove, and got four leagues down; then the wind took us a-head, and we put into another cove where we got muscles and limpets. At four this afternoon saw an Indian canoe coming over from the north-shore; they landed two of their men to the leeward of the cove, they came opposite to us, and viewed us, then went back, and came with the canoe within a cable's length of our boat, but no nearer, so that we had no opportunity to truck with them.

Wednesday the 2d, little wind, with rain. At nine this morning row'd out and got about a league farther down; the wind beginning to blow fresh, we put into another cove, and found plenty of shell-fish, which kept up our spirits greatly, for it is enough to deject any thinking man, to see that the boat will not turn to windward, being of such length, and swimming so buoyant upon the water, that the wind,

wind, when close haul'd, throws her to leeward: We have been seventeen days going seven or eight leagues to windward, which must make our passage very long and uncomfortable.

Friday the 4th, little wind at S. and fair. This morning rowed out, at ten got down, where we saw a smoke, but no people; we saw a dog running along shore, and keeping company with the boat for above a mile; we then put in, with a design to shoot him, but he soon disappointed us, by taking into the woods. We put off again with a fine breeze, steering N.W. by W. down the Streights. The carpenter gave a guinea this day for a pound of flour, which he made into cakes, and eat instantly. At six in the evening abreast of Cape Munday; at eight abreast of Cape Upright, being fair weather. Intend to keep under sail all night.

Saturday the 5th, little wind and fair: At four this morning I saw Cape Pillar, bearing W. by N. distant eight leagues; saw a smoke on the south shore, and at noon we saw a smoke on the north shore, but we did not care to lose time: At three o'clock saw Cape Desseada, bearing from Cape Pillar S.W. distant four leagues, at four o'clock wore the boat, and steered E.S.E. The lieutenant was now fully convinced we have been all along in the right Streights, and had we run but one league further, on Monday, Nov. 17, we had escaped all this trouble and anxiety: As for my own part, I was very well assured, from the first entrance, that we were right, but the lieutenant would not believe that it was Cape Pillar on the S. shore coming into the Streights, but thought we were in a lagoon to the northward; so that we have been above a fortnight coming back to rectify mistakes, and to look at Cape Pillar a second time: At eight o'clock came abreast of the smoke seen in the morning. The people being well assured that we are actually in the Streights of Magellan, are all alive. Wind at W.S.W.

Sunday, little wind at W. with rain; at three this morning abreast of Cape Munday; at six abreast of Cape de Quod, opposite to which, on the south shore, saw a smoke, on which we went ashore to the Indians, who came out on a point of land, at the entrance of a cove, hollowing and crying, *Bona! Bona!* endeavouring to make us understand they were our friends; when ashore, we traded with them

for

for two dogs, three brant geese, and some seal, which supply was very acceptable to us; we supped on the dogs, and thought them equal in goodness to the best mutton in England. We took from the Indians a canoe, made of the bark of trees, but soon towed her under water, and were obliged to cut her loose; steered N.E. by E. At eight o'clock abreast of St Jerom's Sound; at twelve abreast of Royal Island.

The Indians we saw in the Streights of Magellan are people of a middle stature, and well shaped, their complexion of a tawny olive colour, their hair exceeding black, but not very long, they have round faces and small noses, their eyes little and black, their teeth are smooth and even, and close set, of an incomparable whiteness, they are very active in body, and run with a surprising agility, they wear on their heads white feathered caps, their bodies are covered with the skins of seals and guinacoes. The women, as soon as they saw us, fled into the woods, so that we can give no description of them.

Monday the 7th, fresh gales at W.N.W. and fine weather; at six this morning abreast of Cape Forward, steered N. by E. At nine abreast of Port Famine, at twelve at noon put in at Freshwater bay, and filled one cask of water, having none aboard; at one o'clock put out again, steered N. by E. expecting plenty of wood and water at Elizabeth's Island; at nine at night passed by Sandy Point, it bore S.S.E. and the island St George E.N.E. distant three leagues.

Tuesday the 8th, at four this morning, being calm, weighed, and rowed towards Elizabeth's Island, it bearing W.N.W. At four in the afternoon anchored off the northmost in eight fathom water, fine sand, about half a cable's length from the shore put the vessel in, and landed some people to see for wood and water. In the evening the people came aboard, having been all over the island in search of wood and water, but found none; here indeed we found shaggs and sea-gulls in great numbers, it being breeding time, we got a vast quantity of their eggs, most of them having young ones in the shell: However, we beat them up all together, with a little flour, and made a very rich pudding. Elizabeth's Island is a beautiful spot of ground to appearance, with very good pasture, but it is entirely barren

ren of any thing for the support of man. This day John Turner, marine, perished for want of food.

Wednesday the 9th, at four this morning weighed, and steered E.N.E. for the Narrows, with the wind at S.S.W., when abreast of the Sweepstakes Foreland, steered S.S.E. on purpose to look for water; after going along shore about six leagues into a deep bay, we saw a fine delightful country: Here we saw the guianacoes in great numbers, ten or twelve in a drove; they are to be seen in such droves all along the shore for several leagues.

The guianacoe is as large as any English deer, with a long neck, his head, mouth, and ears resembling a sheep; he has very long slender legs, and is cloven-footed like a deer, with a short bushy tail of a reddish colour; his back is covered with red wool, pretty long, but down his sides, and all the belly part, is white wool: Those guianacoes, though at a distance very much resembling the female deer, are probably the sheep of this country; they are exceeding nimble, of an exquisite quick sight, very shy, and difficult to be shot: At noon, finding neither wood nor water, wore to the northward, at three got abreast of the Foreland, hauled in for Fish Cove, which lieth just round the eastern point; here we expected to land and shoot some of the guianacoes, but when abreast of the Cove, the wind blew so hard right out, that we were obliged to bear away for the first Narrow, it being impossible to get in. At eight this evening entered the first Narrow, meeting the flood, which runs here very strong; at twelve came to an anchor in five fathom, about a mile off shore. The tide floweth on the western shore seven hours, and ebbs five. This day Robert Vicars, marine, perished with want.

Thursday the 10th, at four this morning weighed, and came to sail; at six got out of the first Narrow, hauled in for a deep bay on the north shore to seek for water: The boatswain swam ashore, and in half an hour afterwards came down on the beach, and brought us the news of finding fresh water. It being rocky ground and ebbing water, the vessel struck; we were obliged in this exigence to slip the cable, time not permitting us to haul up the anchor, we stood off and on the shore till half flood, then went in and took the cable on board: After landing some people with casks to fill, hauled the anchor up, and went about two miles farther out.

Friday

Friday the 11th, at three this morning the boat struck upon the tide of ebb, it ebbing so fast we could not get her off, in a quarter of an hour's time the boat was dry; we were favoured with little wind and smooth water, otherwise she must have stove to pieces, the ground being very foul; it ebbs dry above a league off, and there is shoal water a great deal further out, so that it is dangerous for a ship to haul into this bay. While the boat was dry got all the water casks out of the hold, and put them ashore to be filled. At six hauled the boat off, having received no damage; at eight, it being four feet flood, run the boat close in shore and took off our water, the whole quantity being four tons, out of which we were obliged to leave two puncheons, one quarter-cask, with three muskets, a funnel, and some other necessaries, and were very much concerned lest we should also leave some of the people ashore. The wind blowing hard, and the sea tumbling in, we were under a necessity of hauling off and putting to sea, for fear of losing the boat. Since we left the island where the Wager was lost, we have several times very narrowly escaped being made a wreck, and sometimes have been preserved when we have seen our fate before our eyes, and every moment expected it, and when all the conduct and ability of men could have availed nothing. Any one who has been a witness of those providential deliverances, and doubts the being of a Supreme Power, disqualifies himself from any title to all future mercy, and justly deserves the wrath of an incensed Deity. This day, at noon, being well out of the bay, and nigh mid-channel over, steered E.N.E. for Cape Virgin Mary, with a fine gale at S.W. At one we saw the cape bearing N.E. by E. distant nine leagues; at seven in the evening saw a low point of flat land, stretching away from the cape S.S.E. two leagues; at eight little or no wind, steered E. by S. at twelve at night doubled the point, the wind at W. right in the middle of the bay, where we filled the water; in land lie two peaks, exactly like ass's ears. We would advise all vessels from hauling into this bay, it being shoal water and foul ground. As for every other part of the Streights of Magellan, from Cape Victory to Cape Virgin Mary, we recommend Sir John Narborough, who in his account is so just and exact, that we think it is impossible for any man living to mend his works. We have been a month in those Streights, from our first sight of

of Cape Pillar to Cape Virgin Mary. The whole length of the Streights, the reaches and turnings included, is reckoned one hundred and sixteen leagues.

Saturday the 12th, little wind, and fair weather. At one this morning steered N. by W. At four the wind came to N.W. Tacked and stood to the westward; the two points stretching off from the cape bore N.W. by W. distant two leagues. At noon, the wind being at N.E. steering along shore from the cape, saw on the shore three men, on mules or horses, riding towards us; when they came abreast of us, they stopped and made signals, waving their hats, as though they wanted to speak with us; at which we edged close to the shore, where we saw to the number of twenty; five of them rode abreast, the others were on foot, having a large store of cattle with them. On sight of this, we anchored within a mile of the shore. The cape bore W.S.W. distant seven leagues, the swell tumbling in from the sea, would not permit us to speak with 'em, by their motions, actions, cloathing, and by their whole behaviour, we took them for Christians: It being a plain level land, they rode backwards and forwards like racers, waving white handkerchiefs, and making signs for us going into a bay, which lay about a league to the northward, which we designed to do on the tide of ebb. The flood being very strong against us, they waited on the shore till the tide was spent; we weighed and stood to northward, the wind blowing right in from sea, and a great swell, we could not clear the land, so that we wore and stood to the southward, and very narrowly escaped clearing the breakers off the pitch of the cape, which lay about two leagues out at sea to the southward. At nine at night the cape bore W. distant six leagues; stood out to sea till eleven o'clock, then wore and stood in, the wind shifting to N.N.E. The next morning we steered in for the bay, and saw those people again; but the wind soon afterwards veering to the westward, and blowing strong, we were obliged to bear away: We could not by any means come to the knowledge of these people; whether they are unfortunate creatures that have been cast away, or whether they are inhabitants about the river Gallegoes, we can't tell.

Tuesday the 15th, fresh gales and fair weather. This morning saw the land; the southmost point bore W.S.W., the northmost point N.N.E. At eight saw two ledges of rocks

rocks, running two leagues out from a point of land which makes like an old castle. At noon the extremes of the land bore W. by N. distant three leagues, had a good observation, latitude 49 : 10 S. Course made this twenty-four hours is N. by E. half E. distant 104 miles, longitude in 74 : 05 W.

Wednesday the 16th, at noon abreast of Penguin island, not above half a mile from shore. We saw on this island seals and penguins without number, the shore being entirely covered with them. We find the penguin exactly to answer Sir John Narborough's description; therefore we beg leave to give it the reader in that excellent navigator's own words: "The penguin is a fowl that lives by catching and eating fish, which he dives for, and is very nimble in the water; he is as big as a brant goose, and weighs near about eight pounds; they have no wings, but flat stumps like fins; their coat is a downy stumped feather; they are blackish grey on the backs and heads, and white about their necks and down their bellies; they are short-legged like a goose, and stand upright like little children in white aprons, in companies together; they are full-necked, and headed and beaked like a crow, only the point of their bill turns down a little; they will bite hard, but they are very tame, and will drive in herds to your boat-side like sheep, and there you may knock 'em on the head, all one after another; they will not make any great haste away." We steered N.W. by N. for the harbour of Port Desire: The going into this harbour is very remarkable; on the south side lies, one mile in the land, an high peaked-up rock, much like a tower, looking as though it was a work of art set up for a land-mark to steer into this harbour; this rock is forty feet high. At five o'clock got into the harbour, run up to Seal Island, which lieth about a league up; here we killed more seal in half an hour than we could carry off, being obliged to leave the greatest part of what we killed behind. The people eating greedily of the seal, were seized with violent fevers and pains in their heads. While we were at Port Desire we had seal and fowl in abundance. The carpenter found here a parcel of bricks, some of 'em with letters cut in them, on one of those bricks these words were very plain and legible, viz. *Capt. Straiton, 16 Cannons, 1687.* Those we imagine have been laid here from a wreck. The carpenter with six men went

went in search of water, a mile up the water's side; they found Peckett's well, mention'd in Sir John Narborough's book; the spring is so small, that it doth not give above thirty gallons per day, but the well being full, supplied us. The people grow very turbulent and uneasy, requiring flour to be served out; which, in our present circumstance, is a most unreasonable request; we have but one cask of flour on board, and a great distance to run into the Brazil, and no other provision in the boat but the seal we have killed here: Nay, they carry their demands much higher, insisting that the marine officers, and such people as cannot be assisting in working the boat, shall have but half the allowance of the rest; accordingly they have pitched upon twenty to be served half a pound of flour each man, and themselves a pound. This distinction the half-pounders complain of, and that twenty are selected to be starved. While we were at Port Desire, one day dressing our victuals, we set fire to the grass; instantly the flames spread, and immediately we saw the whole country in a conflagration, and the next day, from the watering-place, we saw the smoke at a distance, so that then the fire was not extinguished.

Friday the 25th, little wind, and fair weather; went up to our slaughter-house in Seal island, and took on board our sea-store, which we completed in half an hour's time; turned down the harbour with the tide of ebb, in the evening, the wind at N.E. could make no hand of it, so bore away for the harbour again, and came to an anchor.

Saturday the 26th, at three in the morning, sailed out of Port Desire harbour; steered out E.N.E. At six Penguin island bore S. by E. distant six leagues, and Cape Blanco N.W. by N. four leagues. This day I took my departure from Cape Blanco; I judge the cape to lie in the longitude of 71 : 00 W. from the meridian of London.

Monday the 28th, moderate gales, and fair. This day served out all the flour in the boat, at three pound and a half to each man. We have now nothing to live on but seal, and what Providence throws in our way.

Friday, January the 1st, 1741-2, fresh gales and fair weather, with a great sea. At ten last night shifting the man at the helm, brought her by the lee, broke the boom, and lost a seaman overboard. The greatest part of our seal taken in at Port Desire, for want of salt to cure it

there, now stinks very much; but having nothing else we are obliged to eat it. We are now miserable beyond description, having nothing to feed on ourselves, and at the same time almost eaten up with vermin.

Wednesday the 6th, departed this life Mr Thomas Harvey, the purser; he died a skeleton for want of food: This gentleman probably was the first purser belonging to his majesty's service that ever perished with hunger. We see daily a great number of whales.

Sunday the 10th, this day at noon, in working the bearings, and distant to Cape St Andrew, do find myself not above thirteen leagues distant from the land, therefore hauled in N.W. to make it before night. We saw to-day abundance of insects, particularly butterflies and horse-stingers. We have nothing to eat but some stinking seal, and not above twenty out of the forty-three which are now alive have even that, and such hath been our condition for this week past; nor are we better off in regard to water, there not being above eighty gallons on board: Never were beheld a parcel of more miserable objects, there are not above fifteen of us healthy, (if people may be called healthy that are scarce able to crawl). I am reckoned at present one of the strongest men in the boat, yet can hardly stand on my legs ten minutes together, nor even that short space of time without holding: Every man of us hath had a new coat of skin from head to foot: We that are in the best state of health do all we can to encourage the rest. At four this afternoon we were almost transported with joy at the sight of land, (having seen no land for fourteen days before) the extremes of which bore N.W. about seven leagues; we ran in with it, and at eight anchored in eight fathom; fine sand about a league from the shore; the northmost point bore about N.E., the southmost point about S.W. by S. This day perished for want of food, serjeant Ringall.

Monday the 11th, at four this morning weighed, and came to sail, steering along shore N.E. by E. This is a pleasant and delightful country to sail by: We kept within a mile of the shore; we saw horses and large dogs in great numbers, the shore being perfectly covered with them. At noon I had a good observation in the latitude of 38: 40 S. At the same time a-head land, which I took for Cape St Andrew's; it is a long sandy point, very low, where a shoal

runs

runs off S.E. about three leagues. Sounded, and had but two fathom and half at high-water. When we got clear of this, we steered N.E. into a sandy bay, and anchored there in three fathom and half, fine sand; the north point bore N.N.W., the south point S.E. by E. Here is a great swell, and shoal water. This bay we call Shoalwater Bay.

Tuesday the 12th, lying in Shoalwater Bay, the wind at S.E. and fair weather. Having nothing on board the vessel to eat, and but one cask of water to drink, we put her in as nigh as we could venture; so that any person who had the least skill in swimming, might get ashore: Here runs a pretty large surf, which may endanger our vessel; this puts us to a stand: To go from hence without meat or drink is certain death. A few of the healthiest were resolved to swim on shore, to get water and provisions; the officers, viz. the boatswain, carpenter, and Lieutenant E——rs, to animate the rest, first leaped into the water; eleven of the people followed them; in this attempt one of the marines was unfortunately drowned: We tossed overboard four quarter-casks to fill with water; lashing to the cask two fire-locks on each side, with ammunition for shooting. When the officers and people got on shore, they saw thousands of horses and dogs; the dogs are of a mongril breed, and very large. They also saw abundance of parrots and seals on the rocks, but not a bush growing on the place; they made a fire with horse dung, and shot a great many seal, which they cut up in quarters to bring aboard. One of the water-casks being leaky, they cut it up, and converted it into fuel to dress the seal. They caught four armadilloes, they are much larger than our hedge-hogs, and very like them; their bodies are cased all over with shells, shutting under one another like shells of armour. In this country thirteen of his majesty's British subjects put to flight a thousand Spanish horse. Horses are more numerous here, than sheep are on the plains in Dorset and Wiltshire. We on board see abundance of seal lying on the shore cut in pieces, but the wind blows so hard we can by no means get at it. We think ourselves now worse off than ever, for we are actually starving in the sight of plenty. We have but two people on board that can swim; to give them all the assistance we can, the lieutenant and myself, with the rest of the people, proposed to haul the vessel nearer in, and make a raft for one of the

two

two to swim ashore on, and to carry a line to haul some of the seal aboard: With much entreaty these two swimmers were prevailed on to cast lots; the lot falling on the weakest of 'em, who was a young lad about fifteen years of age, and scarce able to stand, we would not suffer him to go. While our brethren were regaling in the fulness of plenty ashore, we aboard were obliged to strip the hatches of a seal-skin, which has been for some time nailed on, and made use of for a tarpawlin; we burnt the hair off the skin, and for want of any thing else fell to chewing the seal-skin.

Wednesday the 13th, fine weather and calm. At six this morning the boatswain shot a horse, and the people a wild dog. The horse was branded on the left buttock with these letters A. R. By this we conjecture there are inhabitants not far off. At nine veered the boat in, lashed the oars to the hatches, and made a stage to haul up the seal. The people swam off three casks of water, sent on shore one quarter-cask more, and two breakers. Came aboard the boatswain, carpenter, and Lieutenant E——rs, and four men more are getting the seal and the horse on board, which was no sooner in the vessel than a sea-breeze came in, and blowed so hard, that we were obliged to weigh, leaving ashore one quarter-cask, two breakers, and eight of the people. The wind at E.S.E. and a tumbling sea, came to an anchor about a league off the shore; we shared all the provisions among the company; we still see the people ashore, but can't get them off.

Thursday the 14th, hard gales at E.S.E. and fair weather. Last night the sea was so great, that it broke the rudder-head off; we were doubtful every moment of the vessel's parting, which if she had, we must have been all of us inevitably lost. We were obliged to put to sea, not being able to get the people off. We sent ashore in a scuttled puncheon some wearing apparel, four muskets, with balls, powder, flints, candles, and several necessaries, and also a letter to acquaint them of the danger we were in, and of the impossibility of our riding it out till they could get off.

In Freshwater Bay, dated on board the Speedwell schooner, on the coast of South America, in the latitude of 37 : 25 S. longitude from the meridian of London, 65 : 00 W. this 14th day of January, 1741-2.

"These are to certify the right honourable the lords commissioners

commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we, whose names are undermentioned, having nothing left on board the vessel but one quarter-cask of water, were obliged to put into the first place we could for subsistence, which was in Freshwater-Bay; where we came to an anchor, as near the shore as we could, without endangering the vessel, having no boat aboard, and a large surf on the shore, therefore Mr King the boatswain, Mr Cummins the carpenter, and Lieutenant Ewers, with eleven of the people, jumped overboard, in order to swim ashore, with three casks of water, in which attempt James Greenham was drowned in the surf off the shore: The sea-breeze coming on, prevented the people getting on board the same night; therefore, on Wednesday morning, it being then calm, they brought to the beach the casks filled with water, with seal and other provisions in great quantities, which we hauled on board. The boatswain, carpenter, Lieutenant Ewers, and three of the people, swam off, but the sea-breeze coming in, and the surf rising, the rest were discouraged from coming off; we hauled a good birth off the shore, where we lay the remainder of the day, and all the night. The greatness of the sea broke off our rudder-head, and we expected every minute the vessel would founder at her anchor. Thursday morning we saw no probability of the people coming aboard, and the wind coming out of the sea, and not one stick of fire-wood in the vessel to dress our victuals, and it being every man's opinion that we must put to sea or perish, we got up a scuttled cask, and put into it all manner of necessaries, with four small arms lashed to the cask, and a letter to acquaint them of our danger, which cask we saw them receive, as also the letter that was in it; they then fell on their knees, and made signals wishing us well, at which we got under sail, and left our brethren, whose names are under-mentioned. Sign'd by

Robert Beans, lieutenant
John King, boatswain
John Bulkeley, gunner
Thomas Clark, master
John Cummins, carpenter
Robert Elliot, surgeon's mate
John Jones, master's mate
John Snow, ditto.

The

The names of the people left on shore in the latitude of 35: 25 S. longitude 65: 00 W.

| Names. | Where born. |
|---|---|
| Guy Broadwater, | Blackwall. |
| John Duck, | London. |
| Samuel Cooper, | Ipswich. |
| Benjamin Smith, | Southwark. |
| Joseph Clinch, | Ditto. |
| John Allen, | Gosport. |
| John Andrews, | Manchester. |
| Isaac Morris, | Topsham." |

Those people had a good prospect of getting provisions, and we believe inhabitants are not far off; they have all necessaries for shooting; we hope to see them again, but at present we leave them to the care of Providence and the wide world. At noon sailed hence, at four in the afternoon could not clear the land, and were obliged to anchor in five fathom, two leagues from the shore, the northmost point of land bore N.E. by N. and the southmost point S. by W. Hard gales at E.N.E. and a great sea. At noon in latitude 38: 00.

Friday the 15th, fresh gales at N.N.W. and a great sea tumbling into the bay. We are not able to ride it out, therefore, at four in the afternoon, got under sail, and stood off to sea; the southmost land bore S.W. by S. distant five leagues.

Monday the 18th, in the latitude of 36: 29 S. the north point of Freshwater-Bay bearing S W. distant forty-four leagues, we went to an allowance of water, at a pint a man per day, having on board not above twenty gallons for thirty-three souls.

Tuesday the 19th, little wind at S. and clear weather. At four this morning saw breakers right a-head; sounded, and found five fathom; saw the land making like an island, bearing N.E. by E. distant twelve leagues; steered N. for about a mile or two, shoaled the water from two fathom to nine feet, then steer'd N.N.E. and deepen'd the water to five fathom. By the appearance of the land, we are well up the river of Plate, and do take the breakers for the English bank. Steer'd and sail'd all day E.N.E. along shore, in the evening anchor'd in a fine sandy bay; saw two men

men coming down on horseback, the boatswain swam ashore, and got up behind one of them, and rode away to their caravans. When we made the land, we had not one drop of water on board: Several people swam ashore to fill water, one of 'em, when ashore, drank very plentifully of water; in attempting to come off, was so weak, that he could not reach the vessel, but was unfortunately drown'd. Got one cask of water aboard, which reviv'd us exceedingly.

Wednesday the 20th, Mr Cummins and myself went ashore, four of the inhabitants came down to us on horseback. As I could talk Portugueze, I fell into discourse with them. They told me the English were still at war with the Spaniards, that they had two fifty-gun ships up the river of Plate, and one sixty gun ship cruizing off Cape St Mary's; and not above six weeks ago a seventy gun ship lying at anchor, parted from her anchors and drove on shore; that the ship was lost, and every man perish'd. They also told me they were Spaniards, Castilians, and fishermen, that they came here a fishing, the fish they took they salted and dried, then sold them at Buenos Aires. The town they belong'd to they call'd Mount de Vidia, two days journey from hence. I ask'd 'em how they came to live in the king of Portugal's land. They said there were a great many Spanish settlements on this side, and gave us an invitation to their caravan; we got up behind them, and rode about a mile to it, where they entertained us with good junk beef, roasted and boyl'd, with good white bread. We sought to buy some provisions of 'em, but they had none but twenty-six loaves, about as big as two-penny loaves in England, which they would not part with under four guineas. We being in a weak condition, scarce able to stand on our legs, and without bread for a long time, gave them their price. Their patron told us at the same time, if it should be known that they had supplied us, they should be all hang'd. He promis'd, if we would give him a fire-lock, he would get us some wild fowl, and as many ducks in an hour or two as would serve all the people on board. Mr Cummins sent for his fire-lock, and gave it him, with some powder and sluggs. On our coming away, finding one of their company missing with a horse, we were apprehensive of his being gone to betray us; therefore immediately went on board, got our water in, and made all ready for sailing to Rio Grand.

Thursday

Thursday the 21st, little wind at N.W. and fair weather. At four this morning got under sail, steered E.N.E. At twelve saw low land stretch off to the eastward, which bore E. by S. At four the tide of flood flowing strong in obliged us to come to an anchor in a large bay, in eight fathom water; the south point bore S.S.W. the east point E.S.E.; at eight at night got under sail, steering E.S.E.

Friday the 22d, little wind at N. and fair weather. At eight this morning saw Cape St Mary's, bearing N.W. distant ten leagues; at noon it bore W.S.W. and the north land S.E. by E.

Sunday 23d, little wind, and calm. In the morning, not seeing the land, steer'd in N.; at noon saw Cape St Mary's, bearing N.W. distant ten leagues; latitude per observation 34 : 53 S. At seven in the evening, being in shore and calm, anchored in fourteen fathom water, sandy ground, the cape bearing W. by N. and the northmost land N. by E. This day departed this life Mr Thomas Clark the master, as did also his son the day following.

Sunday the 24th, the wind at S. and hazy weather. At two in the morning weighed and came to sail, steering N.E. within a league of the shore. At three in the afternoon saw three islands, the northmost of which is the most remarkable one I ever beheld, appearing like a church with a lofty tower; at four we saw three islands more, steer'd N. quarter W. between those islands, until we saw the main land. The most remarkable of these islands is about four miles from the main; they are all steep. At eight anchored in fourteen fathom, fine sand.

Monday the 25th, a fresh gale at E.N.E. and cloudy weather. At nine this morning got under sail, in order to go back to those islands to get some seal, there being great numbers on the rocks, and we in great want of provision, with the wind against us. We took the opportunity of the wind back to the islands, but were disappointed; being not able to get ashore for provisions, came to an anchor in fourteen fathom, sandy ground. Hard gales at N.N.E. with thunder, lightning and rain, all night.

Tuesday the 26th, this morning moderate gales at N. W. and fair weather, got under sail; after clear of the islands, steer'd N.E. by N. keeping along shore: It is a fine level land, and regular soundings fifteen fathom, five leagues off the land. We have no seal, nor any other kind

of food on board. We have a fair wind, and not far from our desired port; so that we are in pretty good spirits. This day died the oldest man belonging to us, Thomas Maclean, cook, aged 82 years.

Wednesday the 27th, moderate gales at W. steered N. and sail'd all day within a cable's length of the shore in three fathom water. We have now nothing but a little water to support nature. At noon had an observation, latitude in 32: 40 south: I reckon myself 18 leagues from the Rio Grand, and hope to see it in the morning.

Thursday the 28th, kept the shore close aboard, and sounded every half hour, not caring to go within three fathom, nor keep without five, sailing along by the lead all night. At six in the morning saw the opening of the river Grand; kept within the breakers of the bar, having at some times not above seven feet water at half flood; steer'd N.E. by E. until the river's mouth was fairly open; then steer'd N. and N.N.W. until abreast of the town; anchored on the east shore in two fathom water. There presently came a boat from the shore, with a serjeant of the army, and one soldier. The lieutenant, myself, and Mr Cummins, with Captain P——n of the land forces, went on shore with them. The commandant, the officers, and people of the place, receiv'd us in a most tender and friendly manner. They instantly sent on board to the people four quarters of beef, and two bags of Farine bread. We were conducted to the surgeon's house, the handsomest habitation in the place, where we were most hospitably entertain'd. At four in the afternoon the governor came to town: After a strict enquiry into our misfortunes, and the reasons of our coming into this port, being somewhat doubtful that we might be inspectors of their coast, he began to examine me, the lieutenant having reported me to him as pilot. He ask'd me if there was a chart of the coast on board; and, if not, how it was possible we could hit the bar, and venture into so hazardous a place as this is? I told him, as for a chart, we had none of any kind, but I had a good observation the day before, that our vessel drew but a small draught of water, that we kept a lead always going, and in the necessity we were in, we were oblig'd, at all events, to venture, and if we had not seen the opening of the river before night, we must have been compell'd to run the vessel ashore. He examin'd me also concerning the places we stopt

stopt at, from Cape Virgin Mary to this port, and more particularly relating to the river Plate. He was very nice in his enquiry of our putting in at Cape St Mary's, and of the bearings and distance along shore from thence to this port. When he thoroughly satisfy'd himself, he embraced us and blest himself to think of our deliverance, which he term'd a miracle. He offer'd every thing the country could afford to our relief; the sick were order'd to be taken care of in the hospital: He took the lieutenant and the land officers home with him, and desired the commandant to see that the rest of the officers and people wanted for nothing. Before he went he inform'd us, that his majesty's ships the Severn and Pearl were at Rio Janeiro, in great distress; that they had sent to England for men, and could not sail from thence until the arrival of the Flota, which would be in May or June. He also told us, that we should be dispatch'd in the first vessel which arriv'd in this port, for he did not think we could with safety go any farther in our own, and that there could not be found twelve seamen in the Brazils that would venture over the bar in her to sail to Rio Janeiro; therefore he order'd our little Speedwell ashore: This wonder the people are continually flocking to see; and it is now about nine months since we were cast away in the Wager; in which time, I believe, no mortals have experienc'd more difficulties and miseries than we have. This day may be justly stiled the day of our deliverance, and ought to be remember'd accordingly.

Sunday the 31st, little or nothing remarkable since the day we came in, only a wonderful change in our diet, live on the best the country can produce, and have plenty of every thing. This afternoon the governor, commandant, and commissary, came on board, to see our little Speedwell; they were surpriz'd that thirty souls, the number of people now living, could be stowed in so small a vessel; but that she could contain the number which first embark'd with us was to them amazing, and beyond all belief: They could not conceive how the man at the helm could steer without falling overboard, there not being above four inches rise from the deck. I told them he sat down, and clapp'd his feet against the rise, and show'd them in what manner we secured ourselves. The governor, after viewing the vessel over, told us, we were more welcome to him in the miserable condition we arriv'd, than if we had brought all the

the wealth in the world with us. At the same time he fully assur'd us, we should be supply'd with every thing that the country could afford; that he would dispatch us the first opportunity to Rio Janeiro, and whenever we stood in need of any thing, he order'd us to acquaint the commandant, and our wants should be instantly supply'd. He then took leave of us, and wished us well. All the deference and dutiful respect we could shew him, to express a grateful sense of his favour, was by manning the vessel, and giving him three cheers. The next day arriv'd at this place the brigadier-governor of the island St Catharine; he came close by our vessel, we mann'd her, and gave him three cheers. The soldiers of the garrison, having twenty months arrears due to them, expected the brigadier was coming to pay them, but when they found themselves disappointed, they made a great disturbance among themselves. I apply'd to the commandant for a house, the vessel, in rainy weather, not being fit to lie in; he order'd me one joining to his own, and gave me the key. I took with me Mr Cummins, Mr Jones, Mr Snow, Mr Oakley, and the cooper; we brought our trifling necessaries on shore, and remov'd to our new habitation: Here we were dry and warm, and though we had no bedding, we lodg'd very comfortably. Since the loss of the Wager, we have been used to lie hard; at present we think ourselves very happily fix'd, and heartily wish that all the persons who surviv'd the loss of the ship were in so good a situation as ourselves.

Tuesday, February the 2d, 1741-2, great murmurings among the soldiers; they detain'd the brigadier from going back, as he intended, this morning, till he promis'd to dispatch the money, cloaths, and provisions, and to see their grievances adjusted. On those terms they have agreed he shall go; and this evening he return'd for St Catharine's. We apprehended, till now, that the right officers were in place; but we find ourselves mistaken. Some time before we arrived here, there was an insurrection among the soldiers: Their design was against the governor; but by his address, and fair promises of seeing them righted, he diverted the storm from himself, and got himself continued in his station; as were also the major and commissary. The soldiers dismiss'd the rest of the officers, and supply'd their places with their own people; though they were lately private

vate men, they appear'd very grand, and were not distinguish'd in dress from proper officers. The disturbance at Rio Grand is of no service to us, for we feel the effects of it, our allowance is now so small that it will hardly support nature, the people have been without Farina, which is their bread, for some days past. We apply'd to the governor, who promis'd to supply us the next day; accordingly we went for a supply, which created fresh murmurings among the soldiers; however we got a small quantity of bread to supply us for ten days. The store-keeper shew'd me all the provisions, which, considering there were a thousand to draw their subsistence from it, was a small stock indeed, and not above six weeks at the present allowance. He told me we were serv'd equally with the soldiers, and when more stores came, which they shortly expected, our allowance should be encreas'd. I think, in reason, this is as much as we can expect. The lieutenant not coming nigh us since our first landing, I went with the people up to him at the governor's, about two miles from this port, to endeavour to prevail with him to get us dispatch'd, acquainting him of the call and necessity there was for our assistance on board the two distress'd ships at Rio Janeiro. He said he had spoke to the governor, and could not get us dispatch'd till another vessel came in. I told him, as the garrison were in want of provisions, what we were living on here would carry us off, and if any misfortune should attend the vessel expected in with the provisions, we should be put very hard to it for a subsistence. He promis'd to acquaint the governor; on which I took my leave.

February the 17th, this evening came into this garrison three seamen, giving an account of their belonging to a vessel with provisions and stores for this place, from Rio Janeiro, that they had been from thence three months, and had been off the bar waiting an opportunity to come in; that not having any fresh water aboard, they were oblig'd to come to an anchor ten leagues to the southward of this port, that a canoe was sent with those three men to fill the water, but the wind coming in from the sea, and blowing hard, oblig'd the vessel to put to sea, and leave them ashore, from whence they travelled here, and believ'd the vessel was gone to St Catharine's. The governor, not satisfy'd with this report, took them for spies, and kept them as such. However, in a day or two afterwards, he dispatch'd

patch'd a pilot and two seamen for the island St Catharine, to bring the vessel round, in case she should be there.

I took this opportunity of sending a letter by them to the Honourable Captain Murray, commander of his majesty's ship the Pearl, at Rio Janeiro; desiring them to order it to be dispatch'd by the first ship from St Catharine's to the Rio Janeiro.

"Honourable Sir,

"I take it as a duty incumbent on me to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship the Wager was wrecked on a desolate island on the coast of Patagonia, in the latitude of 47 00 S. and W. longitude from the meridian of London 81 30, on the 14th of May, 1741. After lengthening the long-boat, and fitting her in the best manner we could, launched her on the 13th of October, and embarked and sailed, on the 14th, with the barge and cutter, to the number of eighty-one souls in all. Captain Cheap, —— at his own request, tarried behind, with Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr Elliot, the surgeon. After a long and fatiguing passage, coming through the Streights of Magellan, we arrived here the 28th of January, 1741-2, bringing into this port alive to the number of thirty, viz.

Robert Beans, lieutenant
John Bulkeley, gunner
John Cummins, carpenter
Robert Elliot, surgeon's mate
John Jones, master's mate
John Snow, ditto
John Mooring, boatswain's mate
John Young, cooper
William Oram, carpenter's crew
John King, boatswains
Nicholas Griselham, seaman
Samuel Stook, ditto
James Mac Cawlo, ditto
William Lane, ditto
John Montgomery, ditto
John George, ditto
Richard East, ditto
James Butler, ditto
John Pitman, ditto

Job

Job Barns, seaman
John Shoreham, ditto
Thomas Edmunds, ditto
Richard Powell, ditto
Diego Findall, (the Portugueze boy).

Captain Robert Pemberton, of his majesty's land forces
Lieutenants Ewers and Fielding, ditto
Vincent Oakley, surgeon of ditto
And two marines.

All which are living at present, and waiting an opportunity of a passage in a Portugueze vessel, our own not being in a condition to proceed any farther, having no sails, and being so bad in all other respects, that the governor will not suffer us to hazard our lives in her, but hath promised to dispatch us in the very first vessel that arrives in this port, where we, with impatience, are obliged to tarry. We humbly pay our duty to Captain Leg, praying the representation of this to him. From,

Most honourable Sir,

Yours, &c."

Saturday the 20th, last night the three seamen which came here, as mention'd before, with five more of this place, attempted to run away with one of the large boats; but they were pursu'd and taken: Their design was for the river Plate, the wind then favouring them. This was evident, that the governor was right in his conjecture, and did not suspect them wrongfully; they are now prisoners in the guard-house. The next morning I went to the lieutenant, desiring him to apply to the governor for a pass and horses for myself, Mr Cummins, and John Young, to go by land to St Catharine's and St Francisco, where we need not doubt of a passage to his majesty's distress'd ships at Rio Janeiro: That it was our duty to hasten to their assistance: That he, the lieutenant, ought, the very day after our arrival into this port, without any regard to expence and charges, to have dispatch'd a special messenger by land, and then we might have been assur'd of a vessel before now. The lieutenant answer'd, he had a thought of enquiring at first coming about what I had mention'd, and of

going

going himself, tho' it cost him fifty pounds; but he was inform'd it was impossible to go by land. I ask'd him, If so how came the brigadier from St Catharine's here? As for fatigue or trouble, whoever undertook to go, he must expect that; but there was no hardship to be encounter'd comparable to what we had already undergone. We lay here on expence to the king, without doing any service, and run the hazard of not only losing the opportunity of getting on board our own ships, but perhaps of missing the Flota, and of wintering here, therefore I begg'd he would entreat the governor to let us have horses and guides; which he promis'd to mention to the governor at dinner, and send me his answer in the afternoon without fail. I waited with impatience for this answer; but the lieutenant failing in his promise, was the occasion of my sending him this letter.

"SIR,

"I am sorry you should give me the liberty of telling you, you have not discharg'd your promise, by letting us know the governor's answer to what we requested: Which was, at our expence and charge, to go to the assistance of his majesty's ships at Rio Janeiro; since which time I am to inform you that we are in want of provision, having none of any kind allow'd us yesterday, and but one small fish per man for two days before. The meaning of which, I believe, is owing to you, by the endeavouring, through the persuasions of the persons you confide in, to blacken us, and in so vile a manner, that you seem unacquainted with the ill consequence, which may attend the touching a man's character. We know, and are fully convinced, from what has been done already, that nothing will be allow'd or granted us but by your means: Mr Cummins and myself ask no favour from you, but to use your endeavours to get us dispatches to the ships at Rio Janeiro, where every man must give account of his actions, and justice take place. If I am not mistaken, you told me that what we were supply'd with here was a bounty flowing from the generous spirit of the governor, and the gentlemen of the place. If this be the case, we ought to be very thankful indeed. I am surprized, sir, you don't see the grievances of the inhabitants here, and hear the soldiers murmurings for want of their arrears. If they should revolt at this juncture, we shall stand a very bad chance.

chance. I must acquaint you, sir, the vessel we came in is not so much out of repair, but that, if you can get canvas out of the store for sails, we can make 'em, and get ready for sailing in ten days time. And if the vessel expected here with supplies comes in a shorter time, our vessel will be ready fix'd for the use of the governor; and if one vessel should not be large enough to carry us all off, we can go in company. I imagine you know of the stores being robbed, and the disturbance among the soldiers, which must occasion uneasiness enough, without repeating grievances, where relief is not to be had. I beg, sir, you'll get us dispatch'd with all expedition to his majesty's service, that we may not lose the opportunity of joining the two ships and the Flota.

Sir, yours."

The next morning the lieutenant came down on horseback, being the first time of his appearing among us since we have been here, which is above three weeks; we went with him to the commandant, who promised we should not want fresh beef and fish, but as for bread there is none to be got. William Oram, one of the carpenter's crew, died this day in the hospital.

March the 6th, for several days the people very uneasy at the vessel's not arriving, the wind having been fair for above three weeks past, and little or no provisions in store, which makes them doubtful of any to be dispatch'd to their relief. This day we are resolv'd to go by land, if the governor will only allow us a guide; we acquainted the lieutenant with our resolution; he went with me and Mr Jones to the governor, we obtain'd leave to go, with the promise of a guide. Captain Pemberton, being at the governor's, desired to go with us; the governor told him the journey was so difficult and tedious, it would be impossible for him to encounter with it. The captain answer'd, that he had a company on board his majesty's ship the Severn, where his duty call'd him, and was determin'd, with the governor's leave, to share his fate with us by land, which was granted. The governor told us, notwithstanding the present scarcity of provisions in the place, that he had so great a regard for an Englishman, that whilst he had any thing for himself, we should not want, for which we thank'd him heartily. This governor is certainly a gentleman of a noble generous spirit,

spirit, of exceeding humanity and goodness, and I believe him to have a sincere regard for an Englishman.

March the 9th, this morning Mr Jones went over with me to the north side, to make an agreement for six people to go to St Catharine's; while we were here, the governor received letters from St Catharine's, which gave an account of four vessels on their passage for this port; on the news of this we put by our journey: It was very lucky we had not set out on this journey before we heard the news; for on the nineteenth, the vessels for Rio Janeiro arrived, and brought an account that the Severn and Pearl were sail'd from thence for the island of Barbadoes. Those vessels not only brought the soldiers provisions, but also a pardon.

On the 20th, the brigadier arriv'd, and had all the soldiers drawn up, where their pardon was read to them: He acquainted them with what money was come, which was not above a third part of their arrears, but the remainder was on the passage. The money he had for them should be paid directly, as far as it would go, if they would take it; but they cry'd out with one voice, The whole or none, and a great disturbance there was, some was for revolting to the king of Spain, some began to change their notes, and were for taking part of the money, and the rest insisted upon the whole. To quell this disturbance, the commandant, whom they look'd upon more than the brigadier, or the governor, used his utmost endeavours. They told the commandant they were no longer soldiers than while they were in the king's pay, and let those who are for the king, draw off one way by themselves; you are our commander, we trust in you to answer for us, what you do we will stand by with our lives: On which the commandant deliver'd his command up, shouldering his firelock, and took the place of a common soldier, telling them, since the king was so good as to pardon them, he thought it his duty to accept it. The brigadier was so well pleased with the behaviour of the commandant, that he ran to him, took him in his arms, and embraced him: The rest of the soldiers follow'd the example of their late commandant, delivering their respective commands up to their proper officers. This day put an end to the disturbance and confusion which had been some time among them, and restor'd them to tranquillity, good discipline, and order.

March the 22d, this morning went to the lieutenant for leave to go in the first vessel, which was expected to sail in four days time: He told me he expected to go in her himself, and that we could not go off all in one vessel, there might be room for the officers, but the people must wait another opportunity. I told him that it was a duty incumbent on the officers that were in pay particularly to take care of the people; You, sir, have been sure of half-pay ever since the ship was lost; we are not, but I will tarry myself behind with the people, and be answerable for them, if you'll give me a note under your hand to secure me the value of my pay, from the loss of the ship, otherwise I don't know any business I have but to endeavour to get to England as soon as I can, and will put it out of your power to prevent my going off in the first vessel. I left the lieutenant, and went with Mr Cummins, Mr Jones, Mr Snow, M. King, and Dr Oakley to the governor, to obtain leave for our going, the lieutenant follow'd us, and said, but one half could go at a time. The governor told us it was order'd that the land-officers, myself and the rest that apply'd to go by land, should be the first dispatch'd, and might go on board when we would, but as the vessel did not belong to the king, we must buy provisions, and pay for our passage. I said, Sir, we have not money to answer the expence: He then ask'd me whether I had not several times apply'd to him for leave to go by land at my own charges? I answer'd, We were obliged to dispose of our watches to raise that money, which will barely be sufficient to carry us six off that intended to go by land, therefore what must become of the rest who have not a single penny? And I hope, sir, that you are not unacquainted that the king of Great-Britain allows to all his subjects, distress'd in this manner, five vintins per day to each man for subsistence. On my saying this, the governor call'd the commissary and major: He walk'd and talk'd with them aside; then came back again, and told us the account was so small, that it was not worth charging the king of England with it; therefore we must buy our own provisions, and pay our passage, and as to what we had received from them, we were welcome; upon which we thank'd them and came away. We then consulted with the lieutenant, to know what could be done with the people, and that as the vessel we came in was not fit to proceed any farther, it was to no purpose to leave

leave her there; therefore we desired his consent to sell her, believing the money she would bring would be sufficient to carry us all off. To this proposal the lieutenant consented. We then apply'd to the master of the vessel, to know what he would have for our passage; his demand was forty shillings per man, of which we acquainted the lieutenant, who told us he could not see what we could do, and, on second consideration, would not give his consent to sell the boat, for when sold, he did not think she would fetch the money. Those words of the lieutenant put us all to a stand, especially after he had but now given his consent to sell her, and in so short time to declare the reverse was very odd; tho' indeed it did not much surprise us, because this gentleman was never known to be over stedfast to his word. Seeing no possibility of carrying the people off without selling the boat, I told the lieutenant, if he left them behind, I could not think but so many of his majesty's subjects were sold, and believ'd he had made a present of the vessel to the governor. At this the lieutenant paus'd for a while, and then said, he had not money to carry himself off without selling his coat. I reply'd, There was no occasion for that, when he had a gold watch. The next morning went to the lieutenant again about our going off; he acquainted us, that the brigadier had order'd things in another manner; that myself, and nine more, being the persons desirous of going, should be dispatch'd in the first vessel, and every thing found us; that he, the lieutenant, was to tarry behind with the rest of the people, and to come in the next vessel, an estimate of the charges being made out; and he also told us, he had a severe check for requesting to go first himself, and offering to leave the people behind.

Sunday, March 28th, I embark'd on board the St Catharine's brigantine, with the carpenter, boatswain, the two mates, the surgeon of marines, the cooper, and six of the people, the provisions laid in for us were two casks of salt beef and ten alcadoes of farina.

Wednesday the 31st, we sail'd for Rio Janeiro, with the wind at W., steer'd S.E. and S.E. by E., until over the bar; then E. by N., and E.N.E., with a fine gale, and clear weather; there is not above two fathom and half water on the bar at high-water; when you are in, it is a fine commodious harbour for small vessels; it is a low land, of a sandy soil: Here is abundance of fine cattle, with fresh-water fish, melons

lons exceeding good, plenty of water, and the best milk I ever tasted.

Thursday, April the 8th, little wind at S.W., and fair weather. At ten this morning anchor'd before the town of St Sebastians. The Portugueze pilots, who have been in England, call the land here the Isle of Wight; and indeed it is very like it, tho' not so large, being only eight miles in length. This is a very secure harbour for shipping; a stranger may go in or out without any difficulty. At this place I was ashore, and think it as delightful and pleasant a place as ever I saw in America, abounding with fruit, as oranges, lemons, bonanoes; also with yams, potatoes, fish, and fowl.

Saturday the 10th, sail'd from St Sebastians, little wind at S.W., steer'd out S.E. between the island and the main; at eight in the morning, on the Monday following, we anchor'd before the city of Rio Janeiro.

Tuesday the 13th, this morning we were all order'd before the governor. A Dutch surgeon was sent for, who spoke very good English. After enquiring into our misfortunes, the governor order'd him to be our consul, telling us, that we should have a convenient house, with firing, and eight vintins a man per day subsistence-money: He also desir'd we might make no disturbance among ourselves, which we promis'd to avoid. A nobleman went with the consul to look out for our habitation; they fix'd on a large magnificent house, fit for a person of quality. This being the first day of our coming ashore, they were pleas'd to order a dinner and supper out of doors, and sent us where we were to eat all together. This was the first time of the boatswain's eating with the rest of the officers since we left Cheap island. The consul was so kind as to send us a table, benches, and water-pots, and several useful things, from his own house; we thought ourselves very happily seated.

Wednesday the 14th, this morning the consul went with the officers and people to the treasury for our money. Mr Oakely, surgeon of his majesty's land-forces, was desired by the consul to sign for it. The boatswain, who now look'd upon himself as our captain, was not a little displeas'd at this. When the money was receiv'd, the consul would have given it to the surgeon to pay us, but he excus'd himself, telling the consul the boatswain was a troublesome man, and it might occasion a disturbance, on which the consul

was

was so good as to come and pay it himself. Being all together, he told us the governor had order'd us eight vintins a man per day; but at the same time had made a distinction between the officers and seamen, that the money received was to be paid in the manner following, viz. to the seamen six vintins per man, and the officers ten. The reason of this distinction was, that the seamen could go to work, when the officers could not, but must be oblig'd to live entirely on their allowance. This distinction caused great uneasiness, the boatswain insisting that the people had a right to an equal share with us. The officers, willing to make all things easy, desir'd the consul it might be so. The consul reply'd, The money should be dispos'd of according to the governor's direction, or not at all. The boatswain then objected against the cooper, because he was no officer. The consul said, Master! I believe the cooper to be a very good quiet man, and I dare say will take it as the men do, but sooner than this be an objection, I will pay the money out of my own pocket. The boatswain then began at me, abusing me in a very scandalous and abominable manner, saying, among other things, that the cooper was got among the rest of the pirates, for so he term'd me and the rest of the officers. When the money was paid, we acquainted the consul, that we had, till now, been separated from the boatswain, that he was of so perverse and turbulent a temper, and so abusive in speech, that we could not bear with him. The boatswain then chose to be with the people, and gave us the preference of the fore-room, where we desir'd to be by ourselves. There were two doors to our room, we lock'd both of them, and went to take a walk in the country: At our return, in the evening, we found the doors broke open, and a small sword belonging to me was broke an inch off the point, and the scabbard all in pieces. The boatswain had in his room an Irishman, whom he sent in on purpose to quarrel with us. This Irishman and Richard East, one of our own people, fell upon the cooper and me: East chose to engage with me, he struck me several times, he compelled me to stand in my own defence, and I soon master'd him. During this quarrel the carpenter call'd the guards, at the sight of whom the Irishman made his escape. I desir'd the guards to secure East a prisoner, but the officer told me he could not, unless I would go to prison with him. I told him it was my desire, and accordingly I went. The prison

prison was in the governor's house. I had not been there but a few minutes before the governor sent for me; he enquir'd of the officer concerning the disturbance, and order'd me to my habitation, but detain'd East a prisoner. When I came home I found the boatswain and two renegadoes with him, all about the cooper. On seeing me, he repeated his former abusive words. He made us so uneasy in our lodging, that, to prevent murder, we were obliged to lie out of the house. Next morning Mr Oakley and Mr Cummins went to the consul; he came with them to the house, where we were all sent for; he told us it was very strange that people who had undergone so many hardships and difficulties could not agree lovingly together. We answer'd, we never used to mess together, and sooner than we would be with the boatswain, we would make it our choice to take a house in the country at our own expence. The boatswain, on hearing this, fell again into his usual strain of slander and abusive language, calling us rogues, villains, and pirates. It was the governor's first request that we might have no disturbance among us, yet the boatswain hath not suffer'd us to have a quiet minute since we have been here. The consul went with us two miles out of the city, at a fishing village, where we took a house at our own expence, to pay at the rate of ten shillings per month, there being seven of us in all, viz. myself, the carpenter, surgeon, the two mates, the cooper, and a seaman. Here we thought ourselves safe and secure. The next day, in the afternoon, two of the boatswain's friends, which had lately deserted from his majesty's service, and an Irish clerk with them, came to pay us a visit. They were so impertinent, as not only to enquire into the reasons of the disturbance among ourselves, but they also instructed us in our duty, telling us, they came from our commander the boatswain, with orders to see my journal. I told them the journal shou'd not be a secret to any person who cou'd read; but, at the same time, I wou'd never part with it to be copied out: They then drank a glass of punch with us, and left us. This is a place that a man is oblig'd sometimes to suffer himself to be used ill; if he resents all affronts, he runs a great hazard of losing his life, for here ruffians are to be hir'd at a small expence, and there is no place in the world where people will commit murder at so cheap a rate. Between nine and ten at night three people came to our door, one of which knock'd, telling us, that he was the person that was with me and the

cooper

cooper in the afternoon. Being apprehensive that they came with no good intent, we refus'd opening the door, telling them, that it was an improper season of the night, and that we did not know they had any business with us, if they had, we told them to come in the morning: But they still insisted upon the door being open'd, saying, it would be better to do so than to be taken away in three hours' time. When they had said this, they went away. We did not know the meaning of their words, but imagin'd they were gone to bring some associates to beset the house; having nothing to defend ourselves with, we got over the back wall of the house, and took to the country for safety: In the morning apply'd to the consul, who remov'd us to a house in the midst of the village; he gave an account to the inhabitants of the design the boatswain had formed against us, either to compel us to deliver up the journal, or to take our lives; and therefore desir'd that the journal and papers might be deposited in the hands of a neighbour there, till the time of our going off. The people of the place offer'd to stand by us with their lives, in opposition to any persons who should attempt to do us an injury.

Sunday the 18th, early this morning we were sent for to the consul. He said to us, Gentlemen, as the lives of three of you are in danger, and I do not know what villainy your boatswain may be capable of acting, in regard to your peace and safety, I'll endeavour to get you three on board a ship bound for Bahia and Lisbon; accordingly he went to the captain of the ship, who consented that we should go with him, on these conditions, that the governor should give us a pass, and that we would work for our passage; this we agreed to. After this we requested the governor for a pass, which he was so good as to grant, and is as follows:

Nas Fortalesas sedeixem passar.

*A* 30 *Abril,* 1742.

Podem passar par Portugal em qualquer Nao que selle ofreser semque che ponha Impedimento algum Bahia, 19 Mayo, 1742.

"Dizem Joan Bocli, e Joan Cummins, e Joan Menino, Inglezes

Inglezes de Nasao, e Cazados em Inglaterra, em quetem suas Mulleres e Fillios, que suedo Officais de Calafate, e Condestavel, & Joneiro, de imadas Fragatas Inglezas, dado a Costa de Patagonia, che fesivel a portarem, a Oporto de Rio Grande, donde selhedeo faculdade para passarem aesta Cidade. E como Naferma do Regimendo de son soberano Nao vensem soldo, algum desde otempo, que Nao Pagau detta Fragata, selhes fas presis a passarem a Inglaterra, para poderem tratar de sua vida em Compania de suas familias; para oghe pretendem na Naude Lisensia passar a Citade da Bahia, para da hi Opoderem farer para Lisboa, na primera ocasio, que che for posivell, e sim desda Nao podem intentar dito transporte.

Quaime sedigne dar che Lisensia que nas Fortalesas selhe nas ponha Impedimento a sua Passagem, Come e Costume aos Nacionaes decte Reyne.

A. Rove."

The foregoing in English thus.

*Rio Janeiro Grand.*

From all the Forts let them pass.

*April* 30, 1742.

That they may pass to Portugal in any vessel that offers itself, without any hindrance whatever, to Bahia, May 19, 1742.

"John Bocli, [Bulkeley] John Cummins, and John Young, of the English nation, and married in England, where they have wives and children, the one being an officer, the other a carpenter, and the third cooper of the ship, being an English frigate, arrived on the coast of Patagonia; and at their arrival in the great river, *i. e.* Rio Grand, leave was granted them to come to this city; and as in the service of his majesty, they do not advance any money, from the time that they paid off the said ship, they are obliged to pass to England, that they may be enabled there to seek their livelihood

lihood for their respective families: Therefore they desire that they may pass in the license ship to the city of Bahia, that they may from thence go to Lisbon, by the first opportunity that shall offer; and that without the said ship they will not be able to perform their intended design.

Leave is hereby granted them to pass by the said ship for Bahia; and we command all the forts to let them pass, and not hinder their passage, as is the custom of the nation of this kingdom.

A. Rove."

The following is a copy of the sollicitor's certificate.

"Isto he para que todos sabem que os Senhores Abaixo Nomeados y bem mal afortunados, nesta Cidade de Rio Janeiro se comportarao com toda Dereysao nao dando escandalo Apesoa Alguma e Sao Dignos deque Joda pessoa posa os favoreser emoque for de Ajudo para Sigimento de sua Viagem omais breve possivel para Huropa.

John Bulkeley.
John Cummins.
John Young.

*Hoje* 1 *de Mayo de* 1742.

A sim que Assiney este Papel Como Procurador Sosil da Nasao Britanica.

Pedro Henriques Delaed."

In English thus.

"These Presents.

"Be it known to all persons, that the under-signed are in a deplorable condition in this city of Rio Janeiro; who have behaved themselves with decency and good decorum, not giving any scandal to any person whatsoever, and are worthy that all people may have compassion, and succour them

them in forwarding their voyage with all expedition to Europe.

JOHN BULKELEY.
JOHN CUMMINS.
JOHN YOUNG.

*The* 1*st of May,* 1742.

I have sign'd this paper as a sollicitor of the British nation.

PEDRO HENRIQ; DELAED."

Tuesday, May the 20th, this evening myself, the carpenter, and cooper, went on board the St Tubes, one of the Brazil ships, carrying twenty-eight guns, Theophilus Orego Ferrara, commander, bound for Bahia and Lisbon. The people left on shore were,

John Jones, master's mate.
John Snow, ditto.
Vincent Oakley, surgeon.
John King, boatswain.
Samuel Stook, seaman.
John Shoreham, ditto.
John Pitman, ditto.
Job Barns, ditto.
Richard East, ditto.
Richard Powell, ditto.

Wednesday the 21st, early this morning the captain came on board, on seeing us, he ask'd us, how we came on board without his leave? Notwithstanding he gave leave to the consul for our passage, we ought to have waited on him ashore. There was on board the ship a Spanish don, a passenger, who told the captain, no Englishman should go in the same ship with him, therefore desir'd we might be turn'd ashore; but the captain insisted upon doing what he pleas'd on board his own ship, and would not comply with his request. The Spanish don, when we came to converse with him, was very much mov'd with the relation of our misfortunes, and said to us, though our royal masters, the kings of England and Spain, are at war, it was not our fault; that we were now on board a neutral ship, belonging to a king who

who was a friend to both nations; that he would not look upon us as enemies, but do us all the service he could. He extoll'd the conduct and bravery of Admiral Vernon at Porto Bello; but, above all, applauded him for his humanity and generous treatment of his enemies. He made great encomiums on the magnificence of the British fleet, and the boldness and intrepidity of the sailors, styling the English the soldiers of the sea. He supplied us in our passage not only with provisions from his table, but also with wine and brandy; and during the whole voyage appear'd so different from an enemy, that he took all opportunities of giving us proofs of his generosity and goodness.

Friday, the 7th of May, 1742, this morning anchored before the city of Bahia, went on shore to the vice-roy, shew'd him the pass we had from the governor of Rio Janeiro: He told us the pass was to dispatch us to Lisbon, and that the first ship which sail'd from hence would be the ship we came in; we petition'd him for provisions, acquainting him of our reception at Rio Grand and Rio Janeiro, that we had hitherto been supply'd at the rate of eight vintins each man per day. He refused supplying us with any thing, upon which I told him, we had better been prisoners to the king of Spain, who would allow us bread and water, than in a friend's country to be starv'd. The captain of the ship we came in, hearing the vice-roy would not supply us, was so kind as to go with us to him, acquainting him how we were provided for at Rio Janeiro, and that he would supply us himself, if he would sign an account to satisfy the consul general at Lisbon, so that he might be reimburs'd. The vice-roy answer'd, he had no orders concerning the English; that he had letters from the king of Portugal his master to supply the French, but had no orders about any other nation, and if he gave us any thing it must be out of his own pocket, therefore he would not supply us. The captain then told him, that we were officers and subjects to the king of England, and in distress; that we did not want great matters, and only barely enough to support life, and begg'd that he would allow but four vintins per day, being but half the sum hitherto allow'd us. The captain's entreaties avail'd nothing, the vice-roy continuing as fix'd in his resolution of giving us no relief. I do not believe there ever was a worse representative of royalty upon the face of the earth than this vice-roy; his royal master

master, the king of Portugal, is very well known to have a grateful affection for the British nation (nor can we believe he is so Frenchify'd as this vice-roy makes him) his deputy differs greatly from him, he has given a proof of his aversion to the English. We think persons in the distress we were represented in to him, could in no part of the world, nay, in an enemy's country, be treated with more barbarity than we were here: We work'd here for our victuals, and then could get but one meal per day, which was farina and caravances. At this place we must have starv'd, if I had not by me some money and a silver watch of my own, which I was obliged to turn into money to support us. I had in money fourteen guineas, which I exchanged with the captain who brought us here for Portugueze money; he at the same time told me, it would be hard upon me to be so much out of pocket, and said, if I would draw a bill on the consul general at Lisbon for the sum, as if supplied from him, upon the payment of that bill, he would return me my fourteen guineas; accordingly a bill was drawn up by an English merchant at Bahia and sign'd by us, being as follows:

"Nos abaixo asignados Joam Bulkeley, Joam Cummins, & Joam Young, Vassalos de sua Magg de Brittanica El Rey Jorge Segundo, declaramos que temos recebido da mam do Snor' Cappam de Mar e Guerra Theodorio Rodrigues de Faria a coanthia de Corentà eloatra Mil e Oito Centos reis em dinheiro decontado comque por varias vezes nos Secorreo para o Nosso Sustento des o dia 17 de Mayo proximo passado athe odia Prezente, por cuja caridade rogamos a Deos conceda mera saud Born succesto e por este pedimos humildeme te ao Snor' Consul Geral da Mesma Nacao que Aprezentado que este Seja nao' duvide em Mandar Sattis fazer as sobredito Snor' Cappam de Mar e Guerra a refferida coanthia visto ser expendida em Obra pia e que o Estado da nossa Mizeria epobreza tre nao' pode pagar e por passar na Verdade o Refferido e nao' sabermos Escrever pedimos a Gabriel Prynn homem de Negocio nesta Cidade e Interprete de Ambas as Lingoas ou Idosmas que este por Nos fizese e Como Testemunha Asignase.

Sao 44 800 re. Bahia, 14 Setembro, 1742.

JOHN BULKELEY.
JOHN CUMMINS.
JOHN YOUNG.

Como Testamunha que fix a rogo dos Sobreditos,

GABRIEL PRYNN."

The

The foregoing in English thus.

"We, the undersign'd John Bulkeley, John Cummins, and John Young, subjects of his majesty King George the Second, King of Great Britain, do declare to have received from the honourable captain of sea and land, Theodore Rodriques of Faria, the sum of fourty-four thousand and eight hundred rees, in ready and lawful money, by different times, for our support and succour from the 17th of May instant, to this present date: And, for the said charity, we implore the Almighty to grant him health and prosperity. And on this account, we humbly desire the consul of the same nation, that, by these presents, he may not omit giving full satisfaction to the above-mention'd captain of sea and land, for the said sum, it being employed on a very charitable account, being in a deplorable condition, and not able to repay the same; and we not knowing in what manner to write, to acknowledge the above favours, have desired Mr Gabriel Prynn, a merchant in this city, and interpreter of both languages, that he may act for us; and we leave it to him to do in this affair as it shall seem meet unto him; and as a witness to this matter he hath sign'd his name.

Say 44 100. Bahia, the 14th September, 1742.

JOHN BULKELEY.
JOHN CUMMINS.
JOHN YOUNG.

To the veracity of the above assertion I have sign'd my name,

GABRIEL PRYNN."

Since our being here, we have been inform'd of one of his majesty's ships with three store-ships being arriv'd at Rio Janeiro, supply'd with stores and men for the relief and assistance of the Severn and Pearl, (which were sail'd before in January last for Barbadoes) and that our people were gone on board of them, and bound for the West Indies.

Here is a very good bay for ships to ride in, with the wind from E.S.E., to the northward and westward back to the S.W., and wind to the southward, which blows in and makes a very great sea. At the east side coming in, standeth Point de Gloria, where is a very large fortification with a tower

a tower in the midst: From this point the land rises gradually; about a league from hence is the city of Bahia; it is surrounded with fortifications, and equally capable of defending it against any attempts from the sea or land.

Provisions here of all kinds are excessive dear, especially fish; this we impute to the great number of whales that come into this bay, even where the ships lye at anchor; the whale-boats go off and kill sometimes seven or eight whales in a day, the flesh of which is cut up in small pieces, then brought to the market-place, and sold at the rate of a vintin per pound; it looks very much like coarse beef, but inferior to it in taste. The whales here are not at all equal in size to the whales in Greenland, being not larger than the grampus. After living here above four months without any relief from the governor or the inhabitants, who behaved to us as if they were under a combination to starve us, we embark'd on board the St Tubes with our good friend the captain who brought us from Rio Janeiro: We sail'd from Bahia the 11th of September for Lisbon, in company with one of the king of Portugal's ships of war, and two East India ships, but the St Tubes not being able to sail so well as the other ships, lost sight of them the first night. About 70 leagues from the westward of Madeira we bent a new foresail; within two or three days afterwards, we had a very hard gale of wind, scudding under the foresail, and no danger happening to the ship during this gale. When the wind had ceas'd, and we had fair weather, the captain, after the evening mass, made an oration to the people, telling them that their deliverance from danger in the last gale of wind, and the ship though leaky, making no more water than before, was owing to their prayers to Nuestra Senhora Boa Mortua and her intercession: That in gratitude they ought to make an acknowledgement to that saint for standing their friend in time of need: That he himself would shew an example by giving the new fore-sail, which was bent to the yard, to the saint their deliverer: Accordingly one of the seamen went forward and mark'd out these words on the sail, *Deal esta Trinchado pour nostra Senhora Boa Mortua,* which is as much as to say, *I give this fore-sail to our saint, the deliverer from death.* The sail and money collected on this occasion amounted to upwards of twenty moydores.

On Monday, the 23d of November, in the latitude 39:

17 north, and longitude 6: 00 W., that day at noon the rock of Lisbon bearing S. by W., distant sixteen leagues; we steer'd E.S.E., to make the rock before night. At four o'clock it blew a very hard gale, and right on the shore: The ship lay-to under a foresail, with her head to the southward; at six it blew a storm; the foresail splitting, oblig'd us to keep her before the wind, which was running her right ashore. The ship was now given over for lost, the people all fell to prayers, and cry'd out to their saints for deliverance, offering all they had in the world for their lives, and yet at the same time neglecting all means to save themselves; they left off pumping the ship, though she was exceeding leaky. This sort of proceeding in time of extremity is a thing unknown to our English seamen; in those emergencies all hands are employ'd for the preservation of the ship and people, and if any of them fall upon their knees, 'tis after the danger is over. The carpenter and myself could by no means relish this behaviour; we begg'd the people for God's sake to go to the pumps, telling them we had a chance to save our lives, while we kept the ship above water, that we ought not to suffer the ship to sink, while we could keep her free. The captain and officers hearing us pressing them so earnestly, left off prayers, and entreated the men to keep the pumps going, accordingly we went to pumping, and preserv'd ourselves and the ship: In half an hour afterwards the wind shifted to the W.N.W., then the ship lay south, which would clear the course along shore; had the wind not shifted, we must in an hour's time have run the ship ashore. This deliverance, as well as the former, was owing to the intercession of Nuestra Senhora Boa Mortua: On this occasion they collected fifty moydores more, and made this pious resolution, that when the ship arrived safe at Lisbon, the foresail, which was split in the last gale of wind, should be carried in procession to the church of this grand saint, and the captain should there make an offering equal in value to the foresail, which was reckon'd worth eighteen moydores.

On Saturday, the 28th of November, we arrived at Lisbon, and on the next morning every person who came in the ship, (excepting the carpenter, myself, and the cooper) officers, passengers, the Spanish don himself, and all the people, men and boys, walk'd bare-footed, with the foresail, in procession, to the church of Nuestra Senhora Boa Mortua;

tua; the weather at that time being very cold, and the church a good mile distant from the landing-place. We Englishmen, when we came ashore, went immediately on the Change. I was pretty well known to some gentlemen of the English factory. When I inform'd them that we were three of the unfortunate people that were cast away in the Wager, and that we came here in one of the Brazil ships, and wanted to embrace the first opportunity of going for England, they told me, that the lieutenant had been before us, that he was gone home in the packet-boat, and left us a very indifferent character. I answer'd, I believ'd the lieutenant cou'd give but a very bad account of himself, having kept no journal, nor made any remarks since the loss of the ship, nor perhaps before; that we doubted not but to acquit ourselves of any false accusations, having with us a journal, which gave an impartial relation of all our proceedings. The journal was read by several gentlemen of the factory, who treated us, during our stay at Lisbon, with exceeding kindness and benevolence.

On the 20th of December, we embark'd on board his majesty's ship the Stirling Castle for England: Here we had again the happiness of experiencing the difference between a British and a foreign ship, particularly in regard to cleanliness, accommodation, diet, and discipline. We met with nothing material in our passage, and arrived at Spithead on the 1st of January, 1742-3. Here we thought of nothing but going ashore immediately to our families, but were told by the captain, we must not stir out of the ship till he knew the pleasure of the l—ds of the A———y, having already wrote to them concerning us. This was a very great affliction to us, and the more so, because we thought our troubles at an end. The carpenter and myself were in view of our habitations; our families had long given us over for lost, and on the news of our safety, our relatives look'd upon us as sons, husbands, and fathers, restor'd to them in a miraculous manner. Our being detain'd on board gave them great anxiety; we endeavour'd to console 'em as well as we could, being assured, that we had done nothing to offend their l——s; that if things were not carried on with that order and regularity which is strictly observ'd in the navy, necessity drove us out of the common road. Our case was singular; since the loss of the ship, our chiefest concern was for the preservation of our lives and liber-

ties, to accomplish which, we acted according to the dictates of nature, and the best of our understanding. In a fortnight's time, their l——ps order'd us at liberty, and we instantly went ashore to our respective habitations, having been absent from thence about two years and six months.

After we had staid a few days with our families, we came to London, to pay our duties to the l—ds of the A———y. We sent in our journal for their l——ps' inspection: They had before received a narrative from the l——t, which narrative he confesses to be a relation of such things as occur'd to his memory; therefore of consequence could not be so satisfactory as a journal regularly kept. This journal lay for some time in the a———y o——e, when we were order'd to make an abstract, by way of narrative, that it might not be too tedious for their l——ps' perusal. After the narrative was examined into, their l——ps, upon our petition, were pleased to fix a day for examining all the officers lately belonging to the Wager. The gentlemen appointed to make enquiry into the whole affair were three commanders of ships, persons of distinguish'd merit and honour. However, it was afterwards thought proper not to admit us to any examination, till the arrival of the commodore, or else Captain Cheap. And it was also resolv'd, that not a person of us should receive any wages, or be employed in his majesty's service, till every thing relating to the Wager was more plain and conspicuous. There was no favour shewn in this case to one more than another, so that every body seem'd easy with their l——ps' resolution. All that we have to wish for now is the safe arrival of the commodore and Captain Cheap: We are in expectation of soon seeing the former, but of the captain we have as yet no account. However, we hope, when the commodore shall arrive, that the character he will give of us will be of service to us: He was very well acquainted with the behaviour of every officer in his squadron, and will certainly give an account of them accordingly.

END OF VOLUME SEVENTEENTH.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
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Kerr, Robert

A general history and collection of voyages and travels arranged in systematic order, forming a complete history of the origin and progress of navigation, discovery, and commerce, by sea and land, from the earliest ages to the present time ; illustrated by maps and charts
Bd.: 17

Edinburgh (1816)

It.coll. 38 r-17
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10465527-6